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CRICKET'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIA'S
NATIONAL SOLIDIFICATION

by

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March 2009

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This thesis focuses on three of cricket's contributions in particular. First, it finds that cricket served as a catalyst, reflection, and expression of India's independence struggle. Second, cricket provided a central social activity that created shared experiences and memories; and doing so helped represent and meld many ethno-religious sub-cultures into one broader Indian polity. Finally, cricket served as a tool for international diplomacy and as one of India's greatest expressions of national prestige.

This study looks at Indian solidification by shining the narrow light of cricket through the prism of Indian nationalism. Thereby providing a small, but important piece to the complex puzzle of what brought India together.

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CRICKET'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIA'S NATIONAL SOLIDIFICATION

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I.   INTRODUCTION

A.   THE PUZZLE OF INDIAN UNIFICATION

There has always been speculation about the prospects of India remaining a unified nation-state. A list of India's more daunting challenges to its solidification include: overpopulation, poverty, lack of unifying language, competing visions of national character, communal violence, regional conflicts, and domestic insurgencies.[1] The common thread throughout the literature of the doubters of yesterday and today is that India is just *too* unstable, *too* poor, and *too* fragmented to survive. Ramachandra Guha encapsulates the chorus of critics in his recently published history of modern India:

> With every death of a prime minister has been predicted the replacement of democracy by military rule; in every failure of the monsoon has been anticipated countrywide famine; in every new secessionist movement has been seen the disappearance of India as a single entity.[2]

Furthermore, when trying to compare India's development with other nation-states, Guha says the Indian model "is different and distinct from alternative political models such as Anglo-Saxon liberalism, French republicanism, atheistic communism, and Islamic theocracy." He concludes India stands alone as a model of political and social development, "India is simply sui generis."[3] As a result, India has survived by finding unique means of addressing its many challenges. Guha draws a number of conclusions as to how India has defied its detractors, and to a large degree this thesis

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[1] Throughout this study the term "communal" refers to religious communities.

[2] Ramachandra Guha, India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy (New York, NY: Ecco, 2007), 6.

[3] Sui generis is Latin for "its own kind," See, Ramachandra Guha, India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy (New York, NY: Ecco, 2007), 758.

aims to add cricket to his list.[4] This thesis targets a very small and specific aspect of the Indian model, which helps address the broader question of how India has survived, at least to the extent that it has.

1. Thesis Question

India is an extremely diverse society, yet has managed to hold together, against the expectations of many observers, for over 60 years. There are a number of possible explanations for this, such as its inheritance of developed institutions resulting from its colonial experience, its democratic form of government, and its willingness to officially accommodate unprecedented linguistic diversity. But one explanation that is often underappreciated is popular culture, and especially sport. Specifically, cricket has had a number of effects that would appear to have contributed to social cohesion. In an effort to build upon the widely-accepted explanations and the conventional understanding, this study asks the following question: What effects has cricket had on the solidification of the Indian nation-state?

2. Thesis Statement

While it is impossible to quantify how much of a role cricket has played, it is safe to say that it has had an important effect, and the Indian nation-state would have been worse off without it. This thesis focuses on three of cricket's contributions in particular. First, it finds that cricket served as a catalyst, reflection, and expression of India's independence struggle. Second, cricket provided a central social activity that created shared experiences and memories; and doing so helped represent and meld many ethno-religious sub-cultures into one broader Indian polity. Finally, cricket served as a tool for international diplomacy and as one of India's greatest expressions of national prestige.

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[4] Guha's list of why India survives includes: its constitution, democratic elections, secularism, liberal language policies, capitalism, civil service, civilian controlled military, and Hindi films. Ramachandra Guha, India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy (New York, NY: Ecco, 2007), 759.

3. The Argument

Although the more widely studied explanations of India's solidification reveal important truths, they do not fully explain the phenomenon of India's unification. Mono-causal explanations fail to account for the complexities and change over time. Therefore, seeking definitive answers regarding what constitutes India is a fool's errand. Acclaimed Bengali author, Nirad Chaudhuri warned, when writing in 1950, "Nobody could be more conscious than I am of the pitfalls which lie in the path of the man who wants to discover the truth about contemporary India."[5] While keeping this warning in mind, this study looks at Indian solidification by shining the narrow light of cricket through the prism of Indian nationalism. The hope is that this will add a small, but important piece to the complex puzzle of what brought India together.

B. HISTORY: DIVIDED CIVILIZATION TO MODERN UNITY

This next section establishes a basic foundation for the underlying assumptions of this study by sweeping across many hundreds, even thousands, of years in order to demonstrate three main points: (1) ancient Indian civilization had always been politically fractured and socially diverse; (2) starting in the mid-19th century, native inhabitants of the Subcontinent slowly began to come together in order to extricate themselves from the yoke of British imperialism; and (3) the polity that became modern-day India continued to solidify in the decades after independence, to the degree that it is today. Once this foundation is set the examination of cricket's contribution to the overall phenomenon of India's pluralistic unity can proceed.

1. Political Fractures

The years 1398 and 1498 mark two very different, yet important, events in South Asian history. In 1398, Timur the Lame (Tamerlane) and his armies swooped down from Central Asia and ferociously plundered Punjab and Delhi. His "orgiastic attack" was not

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[5] Nirad Chaudhuri, author of *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*, 1950, quoted in *India After Gandhi*, Guha, iv.

the first invasion of the Subcontinent, nor would it be the last.[6] However, it *was* arguably the most destructive in such a short period of time. Less than a year later Tamerlane returned to Central Asia, leaving towers of dead Hindu heads in his wake, as well as leaving the Subcontinent's various power centers in chaos. A hundred years after Tamerlane's smash-and-grab, the Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, became the first European to navigate a sea route directly from Europe to India. He arrived in the port of Calicut, on India's southwestern coast, paving the way for Western European imperialism that would continue uninterrupted for the next 450 years.

The hundred year period between Tamerlane's plunder and Vasco's portentous arrival were characterized by extreme political upheaval and religio-philosophic diversity. In what was left of Delhi's court, a Turkish sultanate was followed by an Afghan clan in trying to rebuild what Tamerlane had destroyed. In the Punjab the first Sikh Guru, Nanak, founded a new religion based on principles from both Hinduism and Islam. From the south came the brand of devotional Hinduism led by its greatest disciple, Ramananda. Meanwhile in Bengal the preacher, Chaitanya, led a different variant of Hinduism focused on the god Krishna and goddess Radha. These numerous and fractionalized camps at the turn of the sixteenth century helped to lay out the welcome mat for the first great Mughal emperor, Tamerlane's grandson, Babur in 1526; as well as providing cover and distraction for European adventurism beginning to take place along the Subcontinent's eastern and western coastlines.[7]

The decision to begin the historical study here highlights three important threads to the overall thesis. First, it provides one of the more dramatic examples of invasions in South Asia. Tamerlane was only one of many, including the Aryans, Alexander the Great, Turks, Persians, Afghans, and eventually the British, to enter India. All invaders left parts of their own culture to ultimately be absorbed by India's. For the British, one of the many contributions to modern India ended up being their national sport, cricket.

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[6] Stanley Wolpert, A New History of India, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 119-120.

[7]Ibid.

Second, these waves of invasion over Indian civilization's five-thousand year history help explain the previously discussed ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity we find in India today. This snapshot of fifteenth century India undermines the primordial nationalist argument. Despite what Hindu fundamentalists say, there was no period in recorded history in which Hindus were united under one "nation."[8] The diversity seen during the fifteenth century may have been extreme. However, none of the ancient empires had ever legitimately united India to the degree it is united today, and certainly not under the semblance of democratic principles.

Finally, the foundations for the events which followed, including the Mughal Empire and the British Raj, appear to be made possible by this very real fragmentation left in the wake of Tamerlane. At the dawn of the sixteenth century the Indian subcontinent was low hanging fruit for great powers seeking easy plunder and systematic exploitation. The nature of these circumstances set the stage for a long period of English colonization, allowing the slow and steady absorption of cricket from the Victorian culture, to the newly-emerging culture of modern India.

2.   Pluralistic Society Solidifies

The two centuries of British colonial rule provided the bridge from ancient Indian civilization to the emergence of a modern nation-state. Many scholars of Indian nationalism consider the Anglo-Indian War of 1857 "The First War of Independence." During this conflict the seeds of a unified national resistance were sown.[9] This uprising, which was ultimately contained by the British, exposed serious obstacles to unified action on behalf of Indians against the colonial power. Over the following decades a growing nationalist movement took root, and many of these fractures of the Indian social fabric were mended. At the same time, other divisions within Indian society became

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[8] For the Hindu primordial argument see, D.R. Goyal, *Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh*, 2nd ed., (New Delhi: Radhakrishna Prakashan, 2000) 17-18; and M.S. Golwalkar, *Bunch of Thoughts* (Bangalore: Vikrama Prakashan, 1966).

[9] Stanley Wolpert, A New History of India, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 232-236. Also see Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India: 1885-1947* (New Delhi: MacMillan, 1983).

insurmountable cleavages that ultimately led to the creation of other new nations.[10] The creation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the Muslim League in 1906, and the steady march against European colonization helped solidify the polities of not only modern India, but also gave rise to the birth of Pakistan.

a. Demographics

On the eve of independence, the Indian population was estimated to be 400 million, of which a quarter was Muslim.[11] The final question of Indian independence concerned the disposition of this significant, albeit minority, religious community. After years of growing communal tensions, the Muslim League, led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, was unable to find an acceptable accommodation under the nationalist vision led by Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru of the Indian National Congress party. The minority Muslims in central and northern India felt threatened by the reality of a society dominated by Hindus, irrespective of their promises of secularism. Dividing India into two nations became the primary objective of the Muslim League.

With the partition settlement pushed for by the Muslim League, and supervised by the British, the indigenous population was split along pseudo-communal lines giving birth to two independent states, India and Pakistan. This dismemberment took place despite the desperate pleas of Gandhi, who felt the Hindus and Muslims should "behave towards one another as children of the same parents," and avoid partition at all costs.[12] This partition resulted in the modern world's largest mass-migration of humanity, characterized by brutal violence on both sides that ripped across the subcontinent's newly designated political boundaries. In the wake of this unprecedented

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[10] First independent India and Pakistan in 1947, and eventually Bangladesh in 1971.

[11] Neil DeVotta, "Demography and Communalism in India," *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 56, no. 1, (Fall 2002): 53.

[12] M.K. Gandhi from, "Hindu-Muslim Unity (8 April 1919)", quoted in *The Penguin Gandhi Reader,* Rudrangshu Mukherjee, ed. (New York, NY: Penguin Putnam Inc., 1993), 260.

human tragedy, independent India was left with a total population of nearly 350 million. The census of 1951 showed approximately 87% were Hindu, 11% Muslim, 2% Christian and 1% Sikh.[13]

b. Solidification beyond Independence

While India has managed to incorporate almost all of its 550 princely states, there has yet to be a peaceful resolution to the situation in Kashmir; a territory in which three wars have been fought, and troops from India and Pakistan maintain threatening postures to this day. Furthermore, India continued to struggle with remnants of European colonial powers well into its second decade of independence. While the British left in 1947, India only finally realized its present day borders when it took over French controlled Pondicherry in 1954, Portuguese controlled Goa in 1961, and absorption of the state of Sikkim in 1975.

Throughout its first 61 years of independence India has, in some ways, become even *more* diverse than it was in 1947. Its population has more than tripled, eclipsing the one billion mark in 2001 according to that year's census. Muslims have grown in both raw numbers and as a percentage of Indian population. In 2001 they represented over 13% of India which translates to over 140 million, while the Hindus accounted for just over 80%.[14] India is second only to China in terms of overall population and second to Indonesia as far as total number of Muslims in a single country.[15]

In addition to India's communal fault lines there are significant cultural, linguistic, and ethnic divisions as well. Broadly speaking, the northern region of India is predominantly populated by Indo-Aryans, while the south is primarily home to the Dravidians. These broad factions break down further along ethno-linguistic lines into over 1,500 different sub-groups. Some of the larger ethno-linguistic populations include:

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[13] DeVotta, "Demography and Communalism," 53.

[14] Census of India, http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001 (accessed August 6, 2008).

[15] Carin Zissis, India's Muslim Population, *Council on Foreign Relations*, (22 June 2007), http://www.cfr.org/ publication/13659/ (accessed January 2009).

Hindustani, Bengali, Punjabi, Marathi, Gujarati, Nepali, Oriya, Sindhi, and Assamese for the Indo-Aryans and Telugu, Kannada, Tulu, Malayalam and Tamil in the Dravidian south. Furthermore, it should be noted that prior to British rule India had never been completely consolidated under one flag. Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh and Mogul empires had waxed and waned throughout the centuries, yet much of the rural and regional cultures remained unaffected to a large extent and maintained their individual languages and sub-cultures throughout the ages.

As for language *policy*, unlike its neighbors in Pakistan and Sri Lanka, India officially maintained its varied linguistic identities.[16] In order to do so, India relied on English as a common medium (for the elites at least), thereby avoiding infringement upon regional ethno-linguistic sub cultures. The combination of all of these factors makes India a dynamic country with a diverse population. Yet somehow, despite the challenges this incredible diversity presents, the modern nation-state of India continues to endure, at least to some degree.

3.   Measuring Unification

National consolidation is something to be measured in degrees. While some level of Indian consolidation could have occurred without cricket, India's absorption of this game has definitely increased the degree to which Indian society is unified today. Understanding the more subtle nuances of Indian society contributes, in a small but important way, to a deeper understanding of the cultural perspective of one sixth of humanity.

While "degree of unity" among a billion people is difficult to quantify, Ramachandra Guha, says about four-fifths of the Indian population has ultimately rallied

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[16] Both Pakistan and Sri Lanka have instituted national language policies which have proven to be wedges in their societies. It has been argued that the Urdu language policy in Pakistan was a contributing factor in the civil war that led to the rise of Bengali nationalism and the emergence of Bangladesh, See Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan: at the Crosscurrent of History*, (England: Oneworld Publications, 2003), 57. In Sri Lanka, policies attempting to make Sinhala the country's official language have been the root of conflict between the large Tamil-speaking segment and the Sinhalese speaking majority groups of that small country. See, Ramachandra Guha, India *After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy* (New York, NY: Ecco, 2007), 742.

around the idea of the Indian nation-state.[17] In a history of modern India published in 2007, Guha claims India's "elected government exercises legitimate power and authority" over about 80% of the Indian population and four fifths of its territory. As a result, Guha says these Indian citizens are "free to live, study, take employment, and invest in business" as they see fit.[18]
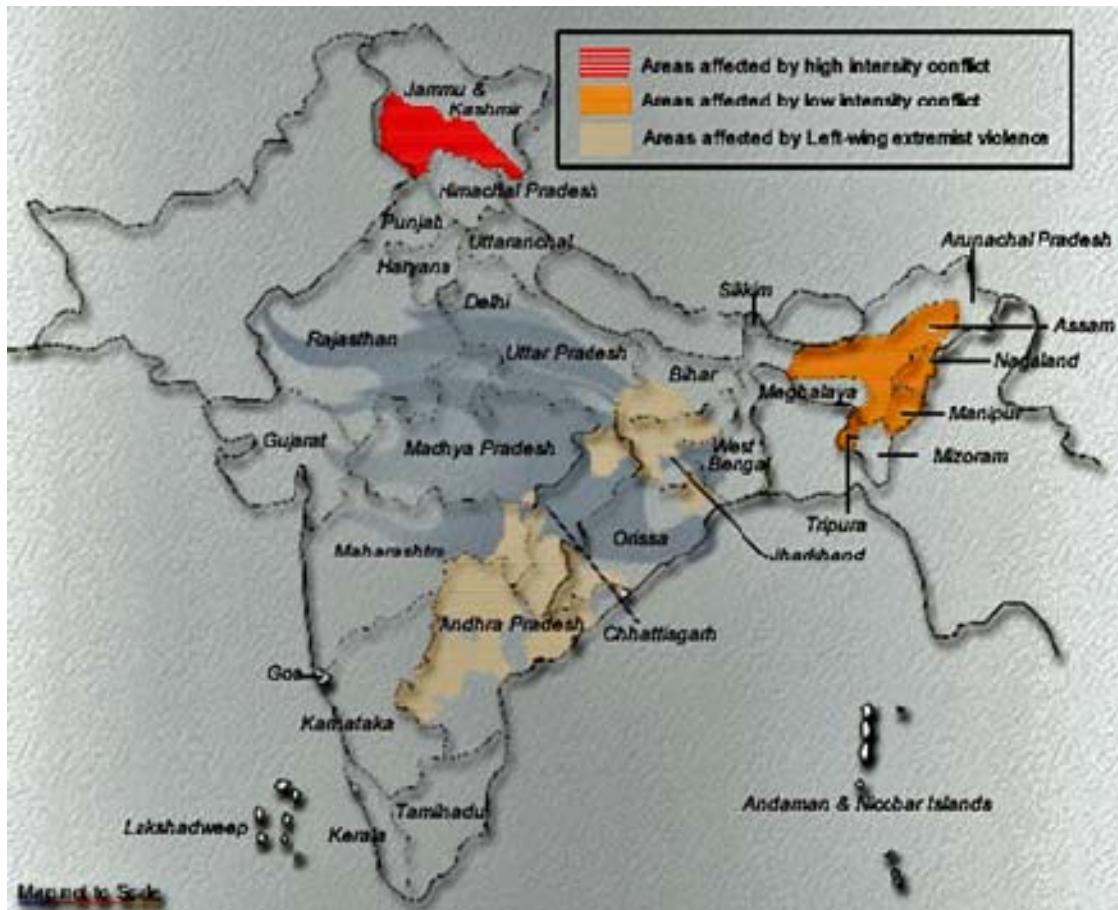
Figure 1.   India's Conflict Areas -2002. (From: South Asian Terrorism Portal)[19]

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[17] Ramachandra Guha, India *After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy* (New York, NY: Ecco, 2007), 751-755.

[18] According to Guha, other separatist movements (Sikh, Mizo, and Communist revolutionaries) have either been quelled or co-opted into the legitimate writ of the state. Ramachandra Guha, India *After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy* (New York, NY: Ecco, 2007), 751.

[19] South Asian Terrorism Portal, India's Conflict Areas—2002 Assessment, http://satp.org/ satporgtp/countries/india/ assessment 2002.htm (accessed November 2008).

Guha's assessment of India currently being 80% united accounts for Kashmiri and Naga separatist movements as well as Maoist revolutionaries, which make up roughly 20% of the population. His assessment of territories in dispute correlates well with the South Asian Terrorism Portal's (SATP) 2002 assessment of India's contemporary conflict areas. The areas of conflict shown on the SATP map match the areas of lesser national solidification suggested by Guha.

Furthermore, a series of three surveys taken over a period of 11 years adds quantitative support to this overall assessment. According to the World Values Survey (Table 1.), between 87-91% of Indians surveyed said they were "very proud" or "quite proud" of their Indian nationality. This survey also indicates Indians have a high degree of pride in relation to other countries. In this study India placed no lower than ninth out of the 26 countries which were polled during all three periods. In 1991 India was ranked second, trailing only the United States. India's subsequent rankings slipped to ninth out of 26 countries in both 1995 and 2001, yet the percentage of Indians who expressed pride in their nation held strong at 87% each year; remaining well above Guha's 80% assessment.[20]

These three unrelated assessments support one another. Guha's 80% claim loosely matches the World Values Survey's data of Indians reporting they are proud of their nationality; and his thoughts regarding the remaining 20% align with the SATP's conflict areas shown on the map. These pieces add to the overall foundation of this study by establishing some understanding of exactly how much, and where, India is unified to begin with. In the next section, the literature review will begin by exploring other explanations for how India became unified to this degree, and this thesis will then add to these theories by including cricket as an additional significant factor.

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[20] The World Values Survey polled 26 countries during three separate periods. http://www. worldvaluessurvey.org/ (accessed September 15, 2008).

The World Values Survey

Rank	1991	1995	2001
1	United States (95)	United States (95)	Poland (95)
2	**India (91)**	South Africa (94)	United States (94)
3	Poland (91)	Poland (94)	Mexico (93)
4	Turkey (89)	Turkey (93)	South Africa (93)
5	South Africa (89)	Austria (91)	Finland (93)
6	Austria (87)	Spain (89)	Nigeria (89)
7	Mexico (86)	Hungary (89)	Spain (89)
8	Hungary (86)	Mexico (88)	Slovenia (88)
9	Nigeria (85)	**India (87)**	**India (87)**
10	Romania (85)	Finland (87)	Argentina (87)
11	Spain (83)	Slovenia (86)	Austria (85)
12	Lithuania (83)	China (86)	Hungary (85)
13	Slovenia (82)	Sweden (85)	Romania (84)
14	Argentina (81)	Nigeria (83)	Sweden (80)
15	Latvia (80)	Slovakia (83)	Turkey (78)
16	China (80)	Argentina (82)	China (77)
17	Finland (79)	Romania (80)	E. Germany (75)
18	Belarus (79)	Bulgaria (75)	Slovakia (74)
19	Sweden (77)	Belarus (73)	Russian Fed. (66)
20	Estonia (77)	Russian Fed. (68)	Belarus (65)
21	Slovakia (74)	Lithuania (65)	Bulgaria (63)
22	E. Germany (65)	Japan (56)	Latvia (58)
23	Bulgaria (63)	Latvia (51)	W. Germany (57)
24	Japan (60)	Estonia (51)	Japan (54)
25	Russian Fed. (60)	E. Germany (49)	Lithuania (54)
26	W. Germany (58)	W. Germany (46)	Estonia (51)

Countries listed are in rank order based on answers to the question, "How proud of your nationality are you?" Percentage of responses "very proud" and "quite proud" are combined together and listed next to each country in parentheses. For situations in which countries were tied I ranked the country with the greater percentage of "very proud" responses above the other. The 26 countries listed are the only countries that were polled during all three periods. While not completely comprehensive, I argue the variety of countries polled is adequate to conclude that India enjoys above average national unity compared to similar countries.

Table 1.   The World Values Survey. (After: The World Values Survey)[21]

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[21] The World Values Survey, http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/ (accessed December 2008).

C.   LITERATURE REVIEW

1.   Other Explanations

The previous section explained the history and evolution of India's pluralist society, and also established a reasonable quantification of India's solidification. Next, this study considers what others have offered as partial explanations as to what keeps India's diverse polity glued together. After exploring three prominent explanations, a review of the existing literature on sport's contribution to social cohesion in general, and cricket's contribution to India specifically, is discussed.

a.   Theory of Inherited Institutions

Atul Kohli makes a convincing argument that many components of India's modern nation-state were mostly inherited from the British. Focusing on the state, he says the Indian nationalists absorbed and co-opted much of the institutions and behaviors from British colonialism. "The British in India created the basic state architecture: political unity and centralized authority, a modern civil service and armed forces, the rule of law and an independent judiciary, and rudiments of federalism and democracy, with growing participation by Indians."[22] This framework put in place by the British enabled both the English, and eventually the Indian political leaders to "establish supremacy over a variety of disorganized, poor peoples" of India.[23] One of the institutions inherited from the British, although not specifically explored by Kohli, was of course, cricket.

b.   Theory of Democratic Form of Government

Many scholars point to India's form of government as the key to its solidification. Edward Luce says, "The most important reason India has remained intact

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[22] Atul Kohli, *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 221.

[23] Ibid., 17.

as a country is because it is a democracy."[24]   And in a country where big numbers dominate, India is widely hailed as the "world's largest democracy." The 2004 elections marked India's fourteenth general election, with 400 million voters making it the largest election in history.[25]

The obvious explanation for democracy's positive role in solidification is that it serves as a relief valve. India has proven wrong the widely held assumptions that democracy is incompatible in a diverse society with high levels of poverty and illiteracy.[26]   Instead, India's form of government seems to be a major contributor in keeping the nation together in the first place.

c.   Theory of Accommodating Language Policies

Language policies and politics have always provided challenges and opportunities for proponents of Indian nationalism. Given India's linguistic diversity, building a unified nation required a delicate balance of respecting numerous linguistic communities with the pragmatic necessities of being able to communicate between fellow countrymen. India essentially punted the language question into the future at the time its constitution was written. Nehru fought off pressure from the right to make Hindi the official language, and the decision at the time of independence was actually to delay the decision fifteen years. During that cooling-off period many Indian states were redistricted along linguistic lines further reducing ethno-linguistic tensions; and by the time the language question came up again in 1965 the central government simply extended the acceptance of conducting official business in regional languages, as well as English.

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[24] Edward Luce, *In Spite of the Gods: The Strange Rise of Modern India* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), 331.

[25] Note the subtitle of Guha's book. Ramachandra Guha, *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy* (New York, NY: Ecco, 2007), 738.

[26] For example see Venezuela's Foreign Minister Ali Rodriguez Araque quoted in an address to the 35th General Assembly of the OAS (Organisation of American States), "Democracy and Poverty are Incompatible," *Workers Revolutionary Party*, 9 June 2005, http://www.wrp.org.uk/news/115.

Jyotirindra Das Gupta concludes that language politics have "proved to be one of the most important positive democratic channels for pursuing political integration as well as political development."[27]   Guha says India learned not to push Hindi as the official language by watching the results in neighboring Pakistan.   "The Pakistan government tried to force Urdu," on the Bengali speaking East Pakistanis, leading to resentment and "ultimately resulted in the formation of the independent state of Bangladesh."   He says the lesson learned from Pakistan was "One language, two nations."   He concludes, "had Hindi been imposed on the whole of India the lesson might well have been: 'One Language, twenty-two nations.'"[28]

2.   **Sports and Society**

While functional state institutions, democracy, and accommodating linguistic policies have all contributed to the Indian nation's ability to incorporate its diversity, they are necessary, but not sufficient conditions to India's current degree of unification. This thesis suggests an element of India's popular culture, specifically its sporting culture of cricket, should be added to these more mainstream factors for a more complete understanding.

a.   *Banal Nationalism*

Michael Billig introduced the term "banal nationalism" to describe the every-day forces which promote a sense of nationalist solidarity within its citizens.[29] Some of the obvious contributors include: capital cities, national coinage, military parades, national oaths, monuments, flags, festivals, and holidays honoring heroes. Demonstrations of athletic competition significantly contribute to this consolidation process as well. Most nations have a national sport, and sporting competitions provide a

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[27] Jyotirindra Das Gupta, *Language Conflict and National Development* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1970), 270.

[28] Ramachandra Guha, India *After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy* (New York, NY: Ecco, 2007), 743.

[29] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage Publications, 1995), 56.

venue for direct comparison between nations.[30] The symbolism and pageantry of international sports is considered one of the primary forms of banal nationalism.

Casual observation of the 2008 Olympics in Beijing vividly illustrates the ties between international sporting prestige and consolidation of national unity among China's diverse and developing mass population. One of today's most cosmopolitan journalists says that the 2008 Olympics served as its first international moment of glory.[31] In general, the Olympics are considered the premier venue for nationalist competition. The parade of nations in the opening ceremonies is followed by athletes literally wrapping themselves in their nation's flag during individual celebrations. Furthermore, each medal ceremony ends with a rendition of the victor's national anthem, and the overall count of those medals is monitored, publicized, and celebrated in proud nations across the globe.

b.   *Studying Sports*

Some scholars speak of a tendency to dismiss or marginalize the historical context or cultural impact of sport. Many historians place sport in a "ghetto of its own," by isolating these cultural phenomena from the mainstream historical center.[32] In contrast, two scholars writing about India's relationship with soccer argue, "Intellectualizing the popular and popularizing the intellectual can go hand in hand and generate a synthetic genre of scholarship."[33] Their efforts viewed the Indian experience through the prism of soccer; my efforts will adopt similar methods through cricket. As for cricket, little attention has been given to its specific contributions in terms of India's national solidification.

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[30] India's national sport is actually field hockey, even though cricket is far more popular today.

[31] Fareed Zakaria, "Don't Feed China's Nationalism" Newsweek, *Apr 21, 2008,* http://www.news week.com/id/131751/page/1 (accessed August 16, 2008).

[32] Ramachandra Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field: The Indian History of a British Sport* (London: Picador, 2002), xiv.

[33] Boria Majumdar and Kausik Bandyopandhyay, *A Social History of Indian Football* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 185.

Sport can, and often does, serve as both a tool and a reflection of the colonial experience. Many sports have been introduced by colonial powers, some in a more deliberate way than others. In an essay discussing Taiwan's relationship to its national identity and baseball, Yu Junwei and Dan Gordon suggest a causal relationship in which, "the ruling class has used baseball to implement their own political agendas, including Japanization, Sinification and, most recently, Taiwanization."[34] Their essay discusses the intentional introduction of baseball by the Japanese rulers in the early 20th century. Their study explored how an authoritarian Japanese rule actively used baseball "as a tool to socialize the Taiwanese into Japanese culture and weaken their armed resistance."[35] Junwei and Gordon quote a Japanese official tasked with implementing this program:

> Teaching barbarians to play baseball is an astonishing thing… I want to correct these barbarians born with violent blood and let them feel the true spirit of sport. In addition, this will demonstrate to the world extensively that we had the positive effect of teaching and civilizing barbarians.[36]

A similar, albeit far less deliberate, effort by the British to export their sporting culture across their empire will be discussed in Chapter II.

3.   Indian Cricket Supporters and Critics

A sport's ability to serve as a "cultural signifier of national identity" depends on its ability to attract a lot of spectators and public interest.[37] Cricket's ability to attract spectators and public enthusiasm in India is undeniable. However, whether or not India's fascination with cricket is good for the nation is a matter of debate. Some followers of Indian cricket seem to share my sanguine view of the sport's impact on Indian society:

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[34] Yu Junwei and Dan Gordon, "Nationalism and National Identity in Taiwanese Baseball" *Nine 14* no. 2, (Spring 2006): 27-39.

[35] Ibid., 28.

[36] Ibid., 28, Quoting Hualian Governor, Saburo Eguchi.

[37] Adrian Smith and Dilwyn Porter, Sport and National Identity in the Post-War World (New York: Routledge, 2004), 3.

Cricket symbolizes inclusive, secular Indian nationalism, not its narrow parochial version… cricket [provides] a voice of sanity amidst the bizarre events of religious and ethnic chauvinism, a voice that can be a 'unifying form of mass social activity' when other unifying forces weaken.[38]

Others dismiss such cheerful assessments in favor of a more ominous and cynical interpretation of cricket's influence. Ashis Nandy warns that expectations placed on the subcontinent's cricket heroes has led to "ultra-nationalism," and links this phenomenon to the millions of lives lost throughout the twentieth century under such dangerous banners.[39] Additional criticisms of Indian cricket are voiced by those that see the game as an unfortunate stain left by the British. As independent India emerged, questions of India's relation to a game "purely English in culture and spirit" came from politicians including the General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee, B. V. Keskar. As he saw it cricket "has always remained a game patronized mostly by the Maharajas, the rich and the snobs." To him, it served as "a sign of our utter slavery," and he failed to see the value in India's tendency to "copy blindly the habits of English civilization, and ape the likes and preferences of the English 'gentleman.'"[40] While a vocal minority of Anglophobes continues to question India's fixation with cricket to this day, the sport's supporters have never seriously considered severing ties with it.

D.   IMPORTANCE

1.   Domestic Implications

Ultimately, a nation's success is partly dependent upon its ability to capitalize on its citizens' similarities while making the best of their differences.[41] This thesis seeks to draw lessons from India's success in forging its nation-state. Lessons learned from its

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[38] Ashis Nandy stating the unpublished views of television journalist, Rajdeep Sardesai in, The *Tao of Cricket* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), xviii.

[39] In a profound book about Indian cricket Ashis Nandy essentially puts Indian society on the metaphorical couch, and utilizes his wealth of training as a psychologist and sociologist to explore the phenomenon. My study addresses similar questions; however, I expect my analysis to have much broader accessibility. See, Ashis Nandy. *The Tao of Cricket* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), xviii.

[40] B. V. Keskar quoted in Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 321.

[41] See Strobe Talbot, *The Great Experiment: The Story of Ancient Empires, Modern States, and the Quest for a Global Nation*, (New York, NY: Simon & Shuster, 2008).

recent past apply to the current crossroads which India finds itself today. One of India's immediate challenges continues to be its communal strife. In order to suppress the divisiveness of its various secessionist movements, reign in its emerging Hindu nationalist agenda, and minimize the fallout from episodes of communal violence, India will need to harness a variety of tools and symbols capable of promoting an inclusive nationalist vision.

2.   Regional Implications

South Asia remains a turbulent neighborhood in terms of state development. India stands alone as the only "free" nation in South Asia according to Freedom House's Map of Freedom (see Figure 1). This map delineates states of the world as "free," "partly free," and "not free."[42] In the years following independence, Don Taylor, a British journalist writing on the progress of Indian nationalism in 1969, noted the emerging "Indian spirit" which suggested promise for India's continued development. Taylor offered India as a model for other emerging nations facing similar challenges. He held out measured hope for India's success, and predicted that "the fate of Asia hangs on its survival."[43] This study explores cricket's contribution to expressing India's emerging "spirit" that not only increased the degree of unity within India, but also established cross-cultural inroads into its cricket playing neighbors, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka.

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[42] 2008 Freedom Map, http://www.freedomhouse.org (accessed August 10, 2008).

[43] Don Taylor, "This New, Surprising Strength of Mrs. Gandhi," *Evening Standard*, 21 August 1969.
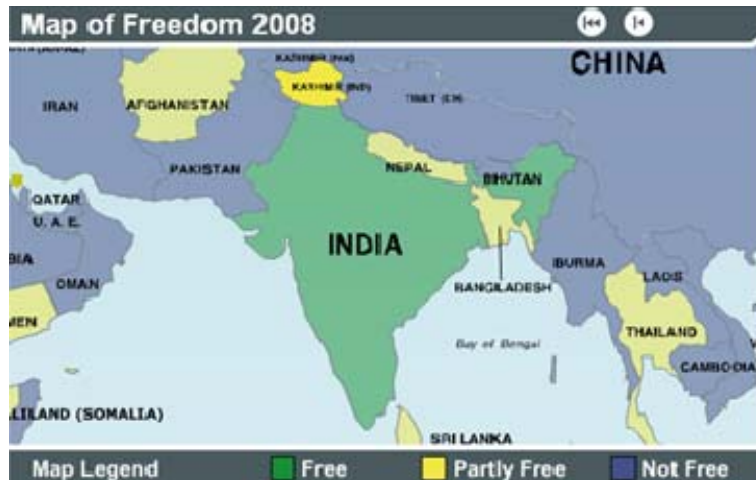
Figure 2.   Map of Freedom. (From: Freedom House)[44]

3.   Broader Implications

This study is tangentially connected to one of the most pressing security problems of our time. Considering India contains the world's second largest Muslim population, answers to how India co-opts its diverse minority segments under its multi-cultural, secular, and inclusive nationalist umbrella will provide insights into possible solutions for countries facing similar challenges.

In 1993, Samuel Huntington predicted future conflict would primarily be along cultural divisions. His analysis focused on the broadest level of civilizations; however, groupings at the more focused nation-state level face similar cultural dynamics. He defined cultural groupings by a number of common elements, including: "language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification" of the individual.[45]

Huntington's definition was based on commonalities; however, the reverse of this concept is that there are *differences* within any broad grouping as well. Some nation-

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[44] Freedom House, http://www.freedomhouse.org, (accessed November 2008).

[45] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3, (Summer 1993): 23-29.

states have been better than others at smoothing over those differences. In order to cobble together a sense of collective identity nations need to bridge these internal divisions. To the degree to which modern India has done so, I suggest it provides helpful lessons for other multi-cultural nations to follow. The story of how India's minority communities embraced Indian cricket bodes well for the nation's continued survival. However, before other nations can imitate the successes of Indian unification, there must be a detailed understanding of how it was able to minimize differences and maximize similarities. This analysis can be a small contribution towards that end.

E.   THESIS STRUCTURE AND METHOD

This thesis demonstrates cricket's contribution to India's overall solidification. The body of evidence shows cricket: has (1) acted as a catalyst, reflection, and expression of India's burgeoning nationalist movement; that it has (2) further solidified a diverse polity by providing shared experiences and memories; and that it has (3) served as a diplomatic tool and source of prestige at the international level. Chapter I established the foundation for the assumptions of the study and set the framework for the methodology and literature upon which further analysis is based. The remaining body of this study utilizes the methods of historical narrative, combined with quantitative demographic evidence, to support the argument that cricket's contribution to Indian society matters.

- Chapter II (Cricket Overview & Introduction to India) begins by explaining the nature, origin, and character of English cricket. The rest of the chapter covers cricket's introduction to India.

- Chapter III (Cricket and the Independence Movement) focuses on the transition from communal based to regionally organized teams, and the implications and symbolic significance this had at the height of India's struggle for independence.

- Chapter IV (Cricket's Social Solidification) examines the contributions of cricket in representing and expressing the growing cohesiveness of modern India's polity. Demographic data is examined in order to quantify the cross-sectional representation of cricket in India.

- Chapter V (Cricket and International Diplomacy and Prestige) explores the development of India's national cricket team, including its triumphs over its colonial oppressor, England, its ongoing sibling rivalry with Pakistan, winning the Cricket World Cup in 1983, and co-hosting the World Cup in 1987 and 1996.

- Chapter VI, the concluding chapter, will consider potential implications for other developing nation-states confronting obstacles associated with trying to solidify diverse populations. Finally, an overall summary of the findings will be presented, along with suggestions for further study.

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II. CRICKET OVERVIEW & INTRODUCTION TO INDIA

Cricket is an Indian game accidentally discovered by the English.[46]

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines cricket itself, starting with the game's basics, virtues, and origins. It then explores the migration of cricket from England to India and how the game took root in South Asia. An understanding of cricket's status in England's Victorian culture sets the framework for the study of how the game initially impacted Indian society. A historical overview follows the game's progression from its arrival in the Subcontinent to the development of teams created along communal constituencies. Initial links between cricket and India's national development begin to emerge throughout this chapter, and are fully explored in chapter three.

B. CRICKET BASICS

Cricket is a sport played by two teams with eleven players on each side. In cricketing vernacular teams are often referred to as "Elevens," or by use of the Roman numerals, "XIs." New variants of the game's basic format have recently emerged, and now range from the "limited overs" format, which can be played in as little as three hours, to extended five-day test match affairs.[47] Regardless of the duration of play, the overall basics remain the same.

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[46] Ashis Nandy, *The Tao of Cricket* (India: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1.

[47] There are currently three variants of the basic game: Test cricket matches lasting up to five days; one-day matches that are typically limited to 50 overs; and Twenty20 matches that are limited to 20 overs and usually finish in less than four hours. Overs are a set of six individually bowled balls delivered by the bowler to the batter. Restricting the number of overs limits the number of balls bowled to the batting side. While the basics of all three versions remain constant, each has its own unique nuances in terms of strategy and character. Traditionalists tend toward the leisurely Test matches, while many of today's new fans are drawn to the faster paced Twenty20 matches played under lights, complete with NFL inspired cheerleaders. Regardless of type, all cricket versions test the skill, strength, stamina, and wit of the entire team, but also allow opportunity for individual brilliance.

The object of cricket, like baseball, is to score more runs than the opposing team. The team with the most runs at the end of the game wins. Unlike baseball, cricket (especially the five-day Test version) frequently produces matches that end in a draw. American critics cite this as a major reason for cricket's lack of popularity in contemporary American sporting culture. No one captures this American aversion to ambiguous outcomes better than Fred Thatcher, a high school soccer coach who said, "Ties are like kissing your sister."[48]

1.   Cricket Virtues

Historians and fans of the game claim that cricket is the "supreme test of brains and brawn."[49] In comparison with other games, the "brains" required for cricket appear to take precedence over the "brawn" of other more physical team sports like soccer, rugby, hockey, American football, and basketball. Cricket, much like its derivative baseball, primarily demands finesse, strategy, and skill in order to succeed.[50] The elements of a good cricketer require "patience, fortitude, and self denial." Additional virtues include, "judgment, decision, and the organ of concentrativeness… the cricketer wants wits down to his fingers' ends."[51]

Philosophically, from the English purists' perspective at least, cricket's ethos is considered a full embodiment of the Victorian era's "aspiration to set moral standards for the rest of humanity" to follow.[52] All cricket histories explored in the research for this

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[48] Fred Thatcher was my Harwich High School soccer coach, circa 1988. Soccer is another sport in which tie scores are a possible, and even frequent, outcome. Historically, India has tied (or drawn) over 40% of its Test matches since 1932.

[49] Julian Knight, *Cricket for Dummies* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd: England, 2006), 1.

[50] The origins of baseball and cricket are hotly contested issues. However, we do know that the earliest known description of baseball dates to 1744, and there is also evidence that cricket was being played in the American colonies as early as 1710, so I am of the side which argues for baseball's emergence from cricket. See David, P. Sentence, *Cricket in America: 1710-2000.* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2006).

[51] James Pycroft, *The Cricket Field* (1851), in John Arlott, ed., *From Hambledon to Lord's: The Classics of Cricket* (London: Christopher Johnson, 1948) 63, quoted in, Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, xii.

[52] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, xi.

study include some mention of the sport's reflection of values central to the British "aristocracy's conception of itself."[53] To the English, cricket has always been more than just a game. First, it's *the* official game of an intensely sporting nation that invented many others, including: football (soccer), rugby, field hockey, tennis, and badminton. Second, cricket symbolizes all things fair, honorable, and sportsmanlike in a way other English sports fall short. For example, the idiom, "That's not Cricket!" serves as a popular expression in English culture when one desires to rally against a perceived injustice. Such a cry will cause a shock to citizens in the British Commonwealth, and puts the receiver of the accusation on notice that they better stop, and reconsider their actions.

Finally, Englishmen viewed cricket as a means of uniting aristocratic and plebian classes. Cricket was as an opportunity "to engage in friendly, 'manly' sports with friends and neighbors; to provide leadership and a model of uncomplaining integrity that lesser men might follow;" and "to offer generous hospitality to players and spectators alike."[54] To illustrate the point of cricket's unifying qualities Whig historian George M. Trevelyans suggests, "If the French noblesse had been capable of playing cricket with their peasants, their chateaux would never have been burnt."[55] This attitude hints at a causal relationship suggesting cricket's ability to shape, rather than simply reflect, the dynamics between differing classes within a broader society, (recall the discussion of the Japanese use of baseball in Taiwan from chapter one). These imagined benefits of cricket would eventually be extended by the British to their colonial subjects; or at least that's how many Englishmen saw it. The truth, as we shall see in the case of India, was slightly more complex.

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[53] David Underdown, *Start of Play: Cricket and Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (London: Penguin, 2001), 69, quoted in P. David Sentance, *Cricket in America: 1710–2000*, (McFarland & Company: London, 2006), 5-6.

[54] Ibid.

[55] George M. Trevelyan, *Illustrated English Social History*, (Longmans: London, 1963), vol. 3, p. 112, quoted in P. David Sentance, *Cricket in America: 1710–2000*, (McFarland & Company: London, 2006), 6.
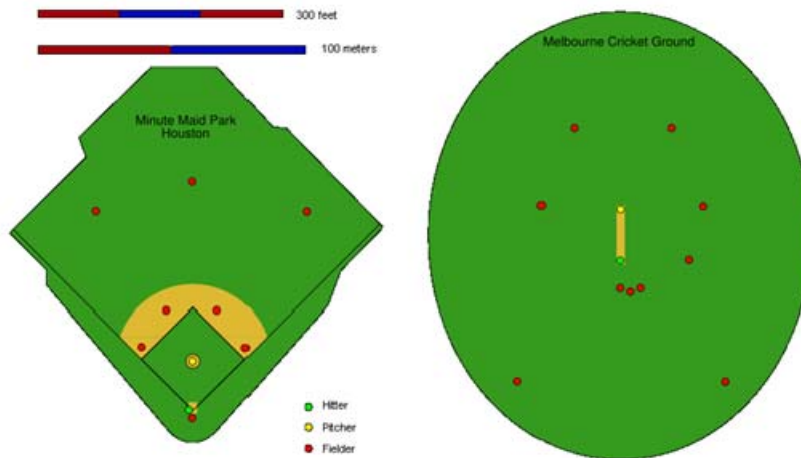
Figure 3.   Baseball field compared to cricket field. (From: Hardball Times)[56]

2.   Cricket Mechanics

Cricket is played on large grassy fields of circular or oval shape (see Figure 3). The center of the field includes a long rectangular strip of grass or dirt known as the "pitch." The batting team sends a player to each end of the pitch to guard a set of wickets made of vertical stumps topped with horizontal bails (see Figure 4). The batter and his partner stand in front of these wickets, while a bowler from the fielding team bowls (or pitches in a baseball analogy) a hard leather ball toward the wicket. The bowler tries to knock the bails off of the stumps with the ball in order to get the batter out. Meanwhile, the batter tries to hit the ball in an effort to generate runs. The batter must also carefully guard his wicket, because he only gets one chance at bat. Runs are scored by the batter hitting the ball into, or beyond, the field of play in such a way as to allow him and his partner to run between the two ends of the pitch. Each time the batter and his teammate reach the other end of the pitch a run scores. If the ball goes past the fielders, and continues beyond the boundary on the ground, four runs are awarded. If the ball carries the boundary in the air (like a homerun in baseball), six runs are allotted.

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[56] Hardball Times, http://www.hardballtimes.com/images/uploads/field.PNG (accessed December 2008).

Figure 4.   Cricket pitch, wicket, and batsman. (From: Cloverdale Cricket Club)[57]

On the defensive side, the fielding team tries to get the batters out. Outs can occur as a result of a number of situations including: the bowler knocking the bails off the stumps, bowling a ball into the leg of a batter that would have hit the stumps, known as "leg-before-wicket," hitting the wickets with the ball while either the batter or his partner are caught between the safe zones at the ends of the pitch while attempting to make runs, or a fielder catching a ball hit in the air within the confines of the boundary. Once the fielding team retires the entire batting side the teams switch from offense to defense. The completion of each side batting and fielding consists of an innings (yes, with an "s"), rather analogous to an inning of baseball. The ultimate duration of play is determined by the number of innings played, and can also be shortened by restricting the number of overs bowled to the batting side.

3.   Cricket Origins

The first documented mention of the game of cricket appeared sometime during the reign of Akbar the Great. Historians argue about when the game actually began, but

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[57] Cloverdale Cricket Club, www.cloverdalecricketclub.com/images/pitch1.jpg, and Go Cricket, http://www.go cricket.de/files/ u1/Cricket_-_Stumps.png (both accessed December 2008).

the first English language reference to cricket dates back to 1597.[58] Given that Akbar ruled from 1556-1605, one can only imagine that while he was presiding over Delhi's court, a bunch of young lads from Kent and Sussex England were laying the ground rules for innings, googlys, and leg-before-wickets.[59] Tracing the emergence of cricket from the rural English countryside to the high-profile modern venues of English cities is beyond the scope of this study. However, for our purposes it's enough to know that cricket is a very old English game, with rural origins, and was seen by its creators as a means to cut across class lines, while inspiring those "lesser men" to reach upward.

C.   CRICKET IN INDIA

In order to get to the heart of this study, it is necessary to briefly gloss over approximately 450 *more* years of history in a few short paragraphs. These foundations cannot be ignored completely, as they provide the "who," "why," and "how" of cricket's arrival to India. Yet dwelling too deeply in the early and middle British Raj era would turn this thesis into a multi-volume body of scholarship. Anchoring the foundation of this study in just a few historical turn points will provide helpful context to the events of the mid-1800s when cricket in India, or rather Indian cricket, really begins to take off.

After the Portuguese established their foothold on India's west coast in Goa, the French, Dutch, and British soon followed. England's East Indian Company (EIC) made its way to the Port of Cambay, along India's northwest coast, in 1608; to the northeast at Calcutta in 1611; and established its initial headquarters in the southeastern city of Madras in the late 1630s. From these three coastal areas the EIC began to probe the subcontinent's various power brokers in order to determine appropriate tactics required to fulfill their ultimate strategic goals.

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[58] Cricket Histories and Chronologies, http://www.jl.sl.btinternet.co.uk/stampsite/cricket/ladstolords /1300.html (accessed October 2008).

[59] Cricket purists proudly refer to the rules of the game as "laws." These regulations currently exceed well over 10,000 words and have a language all their own. The first written laws date back to 1744 when they were penned at a British tavern in Pall Mall, London by aristocratic gentlemen. The unique vernacular of cricket is one of the first obstacles to understanding the game. These three terms mentioned are just a small example.

The start of the 18th century saw the end of the Mughal Empire, a weakening center, and the rise of regional influences in India. These regional powers included the Marathas in central India, the Nizam of Hyderabad in the south, and numerous Muslim Nawabs and Sikh and Hindu Rajas throughout the north and east.[60] This period also affords us our first mention of cricket's arrival on the subcontinent. The first reference to cricket in India comes from a British sailor who penned an entry in his diary from the Port of Cambay in 1721. He wrote, "Though the country was inhabited by Culeys, we every day diverted ourselves with playing Cricket and to other Exercises, which they would come and be spectators of…"[61] From this we catch our first glimpse of cricket in India. However, Indians themselves were relegated as mere observers. Based on available written records, Indians would not directly participate in the playing of cricket for at least a hundred more years.

The spread of cricket in India occurred in reverse of what happened in England. Whereas cricket started in the rural English countryside, and then moved into the cities, in India it began in the British urban centers of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and then slowly made its way into the rural cantonments and villages. Select members of Indian royalty also embraced the play of cricket within their domains. As a result, isolated pockets of cricket development coincided with a variety of princely states.

The first cricket club outside of England, the Calcutta Cricket Club, was established in 1792. These European-only social and sporting clubs served as a refuge for whites in India to escape their oriental surroundings. In these clubs elaborate matches conducted between European teams satisfied their desperate need of reminders from home.

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[60] The term Nawab is often used to refer to any Muslim ruler in north India, while the term Nizam is preferred for their counterparts in south India. Raja is a monarch, or princely ruler of the Kshatriya varna and can be used to identify Hindu, Sikh or Buddhist rulers. Of course, like most things in South Asia, there are many exceptions to these "rules."

[61] Anthony de Mello, *Portrait of Indian Sport* (London: P.R. Macmillan and Co., 1959), 120, quoted in Ramachandra Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field: The Indian History of a British Sport* (London: Picador, 2002) 3.

The slow stateliness of the walk to the wicket… the graceful clothes that the players wore, the greenness of the grass, the understated gaiety of the lunch and tea intervals—all these made cricket an extended escape from India, from its chatter, its dirt, its smells and its peoples.[62]

This image falls short of the previously described aristocratic ideal of using cricket to unite, at least in this early period. The Europeans would make the Indians wait until 1877 before they would actually play in matches together. Until then, Indians would be relegated to spectators, refreshment servers, or eventually going off to try their hand at cricket amongst themselves. For this, like many other Indian achievements, the Parsees of India would be at the leading edge of changing trends.

D.   SUMMARY

Understanding cricket's impact on India's social cohesion requires an appreciation for what cricket meant to the English as they were the ones who brought the game to India in the first place. A detailed study of the world's current test playing nations would reveal similar stories of British colonization, establishment of European clubs, and limited social integration with their subjects.[63]

English cricket in India would be an interesting study. However, it is not the focus of this thesis. Instead, this study seeks to unravel *Indian cricket* in India, and how a burgeoning nation absorbed certain cultural aspects of their colonial masters, and made them their own. Chapter III gets to the heart of this story by examining cricket and its relation to India's independence movement.

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[62] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 6.

[63] The ten test playing nations are: England, Australia, South Africa, West Indies, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Zimbabwe, and Bangladesh. Most are currently Commonwealth countries, with Zimbabwe withdrawing from the Commonwealth in 2003, and the West Indies serving simply as a consortium of former British colonies in the Caribbean.

III.   CRICKET AND INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

A.   INTRODUCTION

The paradox of Indians enthusiastically embracing England's national sport, while simultaneously trying to extricate themselves from British colonial rule, provides a fascinating historical study.   The Indian nationalist movement and the evolution of cricket in South Asia were inextricably linked.   Mihir Bose wrote that, "If everything about India were to be destroyed, a history of Indian cricket would serve as an outline of the history of the nation and give important clues to national character."[64]   This historian's romantic sentiments and seeming overstatements take on an air of astute literal analysis when one considers the period starting in the 1830s until the birth of independent India in 1947.

This chapter examines the phenomenon of India's burgeoning nationalist movement of the late 19th century viewed through the narrow lens of what became the nation's sporting soul.   The emergence of national unity and the rise of cricket fed off each other in a positive feedback loop throughout this period.   Neither one is claimed to have caused the other in a linear fashion; however, they both were helped by the other to some degree over time, typically having a ratchet-like effect.   Furthermore, these two elements did not operate in a closed system.   Other variables also interacted with, and affected Indian unity and cricket.   Foremost among them were the fissures within the Independence movement itself; and specifically the interests of the multiple parties involved, whether they were Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, Sikhs, Princes, or the British. Each of these angles will be considered.

Specifically, this chapter traces the separate developments of cricket in the various communities that took to the game, and then further examines the dynamics between those communities.   Numerous occasions in which cricket either served as a catalyst, reflection, or as an expression of India's struggle against colonialist rule are

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[64] Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 373.

pointed out throughout the chapter. The historical narrative is further supported by quantitative evidence showing the transition from communal based to regionally organized teams. The evolution from communal to integrated cricket teams coincided with, and reflected, the broader transformation within Indian society, which arguably functioned as *the* key necessary condition to Indian independence.

B.   COMMUNAL CRICKET

1.   Parsee Cricket

The small Parsee community of India fled Persia in the sixth century, escaping the Islamic wave coming from the west. They settled along India's western coast finding sanctuary for their unique religious beliefs as long as they agreed not to proselytize.[65] And, while they have never exceeded even one percent of India's total population, Parsees have routinely over-represented themselves in terms of professional and cultural achievement. For example, Dadabhai Naoroji, a Parsee political reformer (and great friend to Parsee cricket), was the first non-white ever elected to the British Parliament in 1892.[66] In addition, three of the four barons of Indian origin were Parsees, and sixty-three members of the community had been officially knighted by 1943.[67]

Parsees enjoyed success under the British Raj as political leaders, industrialists, and businessmen largely as a result of their tight knit community and their anglophile tendencies. In this light, it's no wonder that the Parsees were the first Indians to try their hand at cricket. The separation between European cricket and the Indian masses was first bridged by this relatively small, yet important group. By the mid-19th century the British rulers considered Parsees gravitation toward cricket quite beneficial.

> Anything which can tend to promote an assimilation of tastes and habits between the English and the native subjects… cannot fail to conduce to the solidity of the British Empire… the zeal with which the natives of

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[65] Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 20.

[66] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 62.

[67] Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 20.

India are working to secure proficiency in the chief as well as the best of our sports, cannot be overestimated. The Parsee fraternity is the most intelligent as well as the most loyal of the races scattered over our Indian possession.[68]

Ironically, England's attitude that cricket would bind its subjects closer to the Empire's bosom, instead ended up serving as a means for the ruled to measure against, and eventually triumph over, their masters. The Parsees were the first to take to the game; however, the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and The Rest would eventually follow.[69]

a.   Getting Started

Parsee cricket began in the early 1830s with groups of boys mimicking British soldiers playing outside the English fort in the city of Bombay.[70] These boys later became some of the young men who formed the Oriental Cricket Club in 1848, which they renamed the Young Zoroastrian Club, giving it a more communal moniker two years later. Funding from prominent Parsee elites, including India's premiere industrialist, Jamshedji Tata, helped create this club which still exists today.[71]

The leaders of the Parsee community vigorously encouraged their boys to embrace the British game, lavishing them with moral support and financial incentives. Between 1868 and 1877 Parsee cricket grew to over 30 clubs in Bombay. These teams played matches within their community and competed for prizes donated by Parsee businessmen. The increase in spirit and competition quickly translated into improved skills. Impressed with their own progress, Parsees sought out competition beyond their own community. Finally, after over 40 years of the Parsees playing exclusively within

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[68] Mihir Bose quoting the English magazine, *Cricket Chat* in, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 24.

[69] The Rest is intentionally capitalized here because that is the proper name of the team which ultimately consisted of Christians, Jews and Jains who did not have enough players to form their own communal teams.

[70] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 11.

[71] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 14. Tata is the Parsee family that continues to be one of India's greatest industrial conglomerates. They are the family which built and owns the Taj Hotel in Mumbai that was recently attacked by terrorists in November 2008.

their own community, the British accepted the challenge of a match between an all-Parsee team versus the European-only Bombay Gymkhana.[72]   English papers commenting on this first match gave an ominous, if not tongue-in-cheek, warning, "We have already received several severe drubbings in the cricket field from our Australian cousins, perhaps next we are destined to be knocked… by the descendants of the Fire Worshippers of Persia."[73]   The Parsees didn't win this first match, but they didn't embarrass themselves either. These first European vs. Parsee matches set the precedent for communal matches in Bombay that took place over the following 60 years.

b.   Turf Wars

Shortly after the Parsees embraced cricket they encountered stiff British resistance due to limited playing space. It was one thing to encourage the Parsees to play cricket, another thing entirely for the rulers to share their limited playing fields. Too little green space for cricketing in Bombay resulted in pushing the Parsees into sharing a field of poor quality with British polo players. The horses used by the Europeans for polo rendered the fields unsuitable for cricket, and thus became a growing point of contention, (of course the British cricket players had beautifully manicured cricketing grounds dedicated for their exclusive use). The tactics used by the Parsees to address this turf war preceded some of the same methods later employed by nationalist leaders in India's greater fight for independence.

In 1879, the Parsees cricketers, with the assistance and support of their community leader, Dadabhai Naoroji, embarked on a multi-front effort including: formal complaints, petition campaigns with hundreds of Parsee and Hindu signatures, letters to the editors of newspapers, boycotts of their annual matches with the British, and ultimately a direct appeal to the Governor of Bombay. After over two years of persistence a compromise was reached that gave precedence to native cricket over

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[72] Gymkhana is a term used to identify a social athletic clubhouse in British India. It's a combination between the English word "gym" and the Hindi word for home, "khana."

[73] H.D. Darukhanawala, Parsis and Sport (Bombay: published by the author, 1934), 60-61, quoted in Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 20.

European polo. The polo players were sent to other fields, and the Parsees won a small moral victory. The lessons learned by the cricketers during this fight for playing space were not lost on the burgeoning nationalists.[74]

The vocal, yet respectful leadership within the Parsee community sought to challenge the system from within. This multi-faceted attack appealed directly to the British notions of fair play and justice, and it preceded the formation of the Indian National Congress (INC), which got its start in Bombay by some of the same men four years later. The questions of the players and the nationalists were strikingly similar: "How could you keep your turf protected and make us play on ground so manifestly unsuited to it?" asked the cricketers. "How could you practice democracy at home and deny it abroad?" asked the nationalists.[75]

Having learned from their initial success, the Parsees continued to press the British in other areas. In 1885, the same year the INC first met, the Parsees requested to appoint one of the umpires during their annual matches with the Europeans. On this point the British held their ground. They refused to allow matches involving Europeans to be ruled upon by Indians. This particular ruling by the British came on the heels of another controversial judicial battle in 1883 involving a measure proposed by the progressive minded Viceroy, Lord Ripon. The Ilbert Bill, supported by Ripon, allowed Indian judges to try Englishmen. An immediate uproar by the British in India, as well as those back at home, forced Ripon to repeal the law. This reversal came despite Queen Victoria's proclamation in 1857 which stated, "… it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."[76] Apparently Indian judges lacked the education, ability, or integrity to try Europeans, but were free to rule on matters involving their fellow Indians.

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[74] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 20-29.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Proclamation by the Queen to the Princes, Chiefs, and the People of India, 1 November 1858. http://www.mssu.edu/projectsouthasia/history/primarydocs/political_history/ABKeithDoc029.htm (accessed January 2009).

It was not until 1917 that Indian umpires were permitted to umpire mixed cricket matches. The matter of who India judges could preside over was not revisited for the remainder of the British Raj.[77]

c. *Parsee's Golden Age of Cricket*

In 1886, an all-Parsee cricket team made the voyage from India to England in order to showcase their progress and pay tribute to the game's homeland. The Parsees were matched against second rate British clubs, yet they still only managed to win one out of 28 matches. However, they did get to play against the game's all-time great, Dr. W.G. Grace, and they also played in Lord's stadium, the most venerated of all cricket grounds. A second Parsee tour took place two years later resulting in a far more respectable record, winning eight, losing 11, and drawing 12 of their matches. This trip also showcased what one Indian cricket historian proclaimed as "the first great Indian cricketer," Mehellasha Pavri. The premier Parsee bowler racked up impressive numbers during the three month tour, including an amazing 5,000 bowls holding his opponents to less than 2,000 runs.[78]

The golden age of Parsee cricket began in 1890 when the first ever first-class cricket match was played in India.[79] A traveling English team consisting of gentlemen and professionals accepted a challenge from an all-Parsee side. The initial match between them ended in a draw, followed by a Parsee win in the second, in a match hyped as "The Cricket Championship of India." This major win of an Indian team over a skilled English side, in India, induced a stirring reaction; one Parsee newspaperman surmised that the "imaginative and emotional Parsee youth felt for a day or two that he was the victor of the victors of Waterloo."[80]

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[77] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 29 & 136.

[78] Mihir Bose, *Cricket Chat* in, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 25.

[79] First-class cricket refers to the class of cricket matches between two teams officially adjudged first-class by virtue of the standard of the competing teams. Test cricket is the highest form of first-class cricket, and is a term reserved for play between major cricketing nations. These first Parsee-British matches were arguably considered first-class, but not quite Test matches.

[80] Quoting Framji Patel in Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 35.

Subsequently, in 1892, an annual tournament in Bombay commenced between the Parsees and the Europeans of India. Over the next fourteen years the Parsees played 26 matches with the Europeans, accumulating an impressive record of 11 wins, 10 losses, and 5 draws.[81] These were the first of the Bombay Presidency Tournament matches, considered *the* cricket tournament in India well into the mid-1940s.[82]

An anecdote worthy of note illustrates cricket's importance to the Parsee communities' identity. It comes from a meeting between Jamshedji Tata and President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907. Reportedly, when the two men met in the United States to discuss opening markets for Tata's steel company, Roosevelt broke the ice with Tata by asking him, "And how is Parsi cricket getting along?"[83] Tata's answer remains unrecorded; however, by this time he could easily be imagined to have proudly replied, "Just fine, thank-you."

2.   Hindu Cricket

Less than a decade prior to the start of Hindu cricket, in the wake of the 1857 Anglo-Indian War, the seeds of a unified national resistance were sown.[84] This uprising, which was ultimately contained by the British, exposed serious obstacles to unified action on behalf of Indians against the colonial power. It also served as a wakeup call to the British crown which dismissed the EIC, and took direct control over its most precious colonial jewel. In the following years, while some Parsees and Hindus began to learn cricket, there were other native forces in Bombay also embracing English institutions like education and the justice system, which would, like cricket, eventually help the nationalists to beat the English at their own game.

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[81] Mihir Bose, *Cricket Chat* in, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 27.

[82] The Bombay Presidency matches began with the Europeans (British) playing the Parsees. Over the years, other communal teams were added, including the Hindus, Muslims, and The Rest. Similar communal formats were used in other areas of British India, including Sind, and Lahore.

[83] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 123.

[84] Stanley Wolpert, A New History of India, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 232-236.

While the names of the first Parsees to play the game remain shrouded in anonymity, we *do* know who and when the first Hindu joined the action. His name was Ramachandra Vishnu Navlekar, and he played his first cricket in 1861. Navlekar founded the caste-restricted Bombay Union Cricket Club in 1866.[85] While perhaps surprising today, organizing teams along religious and caste-specific lines must have made all the sense in the world in mid-nineteenth century India.

a. Questioning Caste

As previously mentioned, the Parsees were welcomed to India in the sixth century as long as they didn't try to convert others. This caused the Parsee community to turn inward and strengthen its internal bonds as a minority group. A similar motivation will be discussed in the subsequent section on the minority Muslim community. However, the majority Hindu community had a more complex path to the cricket field as a result of obstacles posed by their stratified caste structure.

In this period of Indian society it was unthinkable to imagine social structures without strict caste and class distinctions. The various communities within India were hyper-aware of caste, class, and religious differences; and the official policies of the British Raj only served to reinforce and exploit these divisions.[86] Therefore, the Hindu cricketing pioneer, Navlekar, restricting membership to his fellow Prabhu caste members can hardly come as a surprise. However, being an upstart group trying to compete with more experienced British and Parsee teams, the Hindus needed to field the best team possible in order to be competitive. This tension within the Hindu community would soon drive reforms in the selection of Hindu cricket teams, as well as within the broader Hindu community as a whole.

In Bombay during the 1870s and 1880s, the first waves of English educated and nationalist minded Indian elites began to emerge. Leading the charge were Mahadev Govind Rande and his disciple, Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Their vision of Indian

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[85] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 16.

[86] One exception is perhaps the Sikhs, who adamantly rejected caste divisions, and made equality a key tenet of their religious faith.

nationalism relied on "effective use of all the political institutions and self-governing ideals embodied in British society and English literature and law."[87] Rande and Gokhale, both Chitpavin Brahmans by birth, knew social reforms regarding communal, caste, and gender conflicts were required before India could unite behind a nationalist cause. Their reform philosophies, combined with the leadership of the Parsee elites like the "Grand Old Man" of Indian Nationalism, Dadabhai Naoroji, and Pherozeshah Mehta, the "Uncrowned King of Bombay," created an energetic atmosphere in Bombay which ultimately led to the creation of the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885.[88]

Bombay served as the breeding ground for both Indian cricket, and nationalist leaders. Often, as was the case with Naoroji, these men were one and the same, both cricket admirers as well as nationalists. The social reforms needed on the cricket pitch reflected the same lessons learned in the aftermath of the 1857 rebellion. Changes would need to take place within India's various communities before they could effectively unite together to take on the British powers. The next example of this key lesson comes from one of Indian cricket's greatest stories, that of Palwankar Baloo.

b.   *India's Jackie Robinson*

Palwankar Baloo's story of transcending caste prejudice precedes Jackie Robinson's triumphs in American baseball by over 50 years; and while relatively unknown, his story is arguably far more fantastic.[89] Palwankar Baloo was born in 1875 as a member of the Dalit sub-caste of Hindu society known as Chamaar. The Chamaars primarily work with leather; and given the sacred nature of cows in the Hindu religion, the Chamaars were at the very bottom of a highly stratified society. According to caste

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[87] Stanley Wolpert, A New History of India, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 249.

[88] Ibid., 250-254.

[89] See Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*. A few other historians have briefly mentioned Baloo, however only Guha has researched this amazing story in fine detail. Guha proclaims Baloo as India's first great cricketer—an assessment I agree with wholeheartedly. - For readers unfamiliar with Jackie Robinson, he was the first African-American Major League Baseball player of the modern era. His 1947 debut with the Brooklyn Dodgers broke the baseball color barrier. Robinson went on to play on six World Series teams, and was named to six consecutive All-Star teams as well. His career continues to be widely celebrated in America, and on the 50th anniversary of his debut his jersey number (42) was retired across all Major League Baseball teams in recognition of his accomplishments.

tradition, the Chamaar's "very name connects him with the carcasses of cattle… he not only removes the skins from the cattle that have died, but also he eats the flesh. The defilement and degradation resulting from these acts" were deemed "insurmountable." As it turns out, the leather Baloo would work with (a leather cricket ball) brought great glory and pride not only to his caste, but also his nation.[90]

Instead of following the Hindu traditions of caste-determined occupation, Baloo took advantage of opportunities available under the British Raj and left village life to find work in the cities. In Poona, which lies 100 km southeast of Bombay, he found a job tending to the cricket pitch at a local Parsee club. His duties included taking care of the grounds, but he also was allowed to bowl to the members during batting practice on occasion.

In 1892, he left his job with the Parsees for a better paying job at the exclusively English cricket club in Poona. Here, Baloo's duties of bowling to the batters for practice continued, and he was very good at his job. Under the watchful eye of Captain J.G. Greig, Baloo's prodigal talents as a medium paced, left-arm spinner were recognized and developed. After hundreds of hours of practice bowling to Captain Greig, Baloo perfected his delivery. Legend has it that Greig "paid Baloo 8 annas for every time he got him out. At this rate, if the bowler was successful once a week he would have doubled his salary each month."[91]

Word of Baloo's talent began to spread throughout the Poona cricket community, and eventually an up-and-coming Hindu team wrestled with the idea of adding Baloo to their side. The team's Brahmins were against taking Baloo as a teammate, but some Telugu members argued in favor of inclusion. Captain Greig weighed in on the matter by suggesting the Hindu team would be fools not to take advantage of Baloo's obvious talents, and shortly thereafter the matter was settled. Baloo had made the team.[92]

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[90] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 87.

[91] Ibid., 89.

[92] Ibid., 90.

Baloo's performance on the field did not disappoint. His exceptional talent and dignified manner eventually earned him the respect of his teammates and the greater cricket community in Bombay. His performance on the field also garnered attention from nationalist leaders like the aforementioned Ranade, as well as the more radical nationalist, Bal Gangadhar Tilak.[93] Baloo's triumph of merit over caste prejudice would ultimately inspire the father of India's constitution, and celebrated hero of the lower caste masses, Bhimrao Ambedkar. Upon retirement from cricket, Baloo himself would run and hold office, championing the cause of equality. However, there were many wickets still to be taken before Baloo would leave the field of play.

In 1906, Baloo became a first-class cricketer by his selection to the Hindu team competing in the Bombay Quadrangular Presidency Tournament. This annual cricket tournament grew from the Parsee-European matches, and now included Hindu and Muslim teams as well. In Baloo's first-class debut he promptly led his Hindu team to their first tournament win over the British. Newspapers in Bombay considered the win "a sign that a subdued and suppressed Asia was shaking off its shackles."[94] Other papers saw Baloo's leading role as a victory over caste prejudice. In 1911, Baloo joined an all-Indian cricket team which toured England. The team consisted of Parsees, Hindus, and Muslims and was captained by a Sikh prince. During the tour Baloo was the team's standout performer. He took over a hundred wickets on this tour, causing some to compare him to England's best bowlers at the time.[95] Despite the previous claims of one cricket historian, Baloo is strenuously hailed by another as the "first great Indian cricketer and a pioneer in the emancipation of the Untouchables" to boot.[96]

Upon return to India after his tour of England, Baloo was welcomed by a celebration held in his honor by the Depressed Classes of Bombay in which an address was made by a young Bhimrao Ambedkar. This was understood to be the first public

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[93] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 91.

[94] Ibid., 113.

[95] Bose cites a cricket commentator who equated Baloo with two of England's best bowlers of the era, Wilfred Rhodes and Hedley Verity. Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 34.

[96] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, xiii.

appearance of India's most celebrated low-caste politician and reformer, as well as the primary architect of India's constitution.[97] "By virtue solely of his deeds on the cricket field, Baloo had become a hero and inspiration to countless Untouchables. And the young B.R. Ambedkar was one of them."[98] Baloo continued to represent the Hindu side with excellent play until the early 1920s. Amazingly, his story finds little space among the many books on Indian cricket. Guha's in-depth history of Baloo remains the sole exception. Guha rightly questions lack of attention given to Baloo's contributions to Indian society, and makes the comparison to America's reverence for Jackie Robinson himself.

3. Muslim Cricket

Indian Muslims followed a path similar to the Parsees in terms of cricket. Anglophiles within the minority community understood the advantages of endearing themselves to their British rulers. Even the future founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, himself an English educated lawyer from Bombay, is said to have chided his boyhood friends, "Don't play marbles in the dust; it spoils your clothes and dirties your hands. We must stand up and play cricket."[99]

In 1875, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan established the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh. As the name suggests, his school aimed to bridge Islamic and Western traditions. Khan envisioned a student body that would "read the Quran before classes began and play English games after they had ended."[100] Aligarh's cricket club began three years after the school opened and was energetically promoted by the school's English principal, Theodore Beck. The college's cricketers epitomized the ideal vision of the school, and by the early 1890s they had realized some success on the field, defeating a team of visiting Parsees.[101]

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[97] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 121.

[98] Ibid., 122.

[99] Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (London: John Murray, 1954) 5. Quoted in Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 42.

[100] Ibid., 42.

[101] Boria Majumdar, *Indian Cricket Through the Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 317.

In Bombay, the epicenter of Indian cricket, Muslim teams were the last of the major communal groups to join the prestigious Presidency Tournament. Their first entry into the annual event came in 1912. It took them 12 years to win the coveted trophy, emerging victorious for the first time in 1924. This first win came in the middle of a decade of India-wide communal turmoil between Hindus and Muslims. If, as is widely regarded, the Lucknow Pact of 1916 was the high-water mark of Hindu-Muslim cooperation, then by the mid-1920s the tide had certainly receded.[102] By 1920, Jinnah had quit the INC in disgust over disputes with Gandhi and Nehru, and increasing tensions turned into communal riots in both Punjab and Bengal. By 1924, the same year of the Muslim's first cricket victory, Jinnah sought in vain to restore the cooperative spirit of Lucknow. In congratulating his fellow Muslims on their cricketing win Jinnah was

> sure that even their Hindu brethren would rejoice in the Mahommedans' success, in a spirit of true sportsmanship. The cricket field had many lessons to teach in other walks of life. The brotherly feeling that prevailed throughout the play was no less remarkable and he hoped their Hindu brethren as sportsmen would no less be pleased… at the Mohommedans' winning the championship.[103]

Unfortunately, the lessons of gentlemanly respect and humility Jinnah found on the field of play did not translate into the Hindu-Muslim relations seen on the all-too-often blood soaked streets and villages of South Asia in the immediate years to follow.

If the Muslim community was late to cricket, it certainly made up for lost time in the years leading up to independence and partition. The Muslim team won six of the last 10 communal tournaments, starting in 1935. This dominance coincided with the decade leading up to the partition of India and Pakistan. As a minority group, the Muslims (like the Parsees) had learned that adopting British institutions and methods reaped benefits of

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[102] The Lucknow Pact called for a very broad franchise voting scheme which would have allowed Muslims more seats in provincial and legislative councils than their proportion of population dictated. Major concessions were made by both Hindu and Muslim sides, however the agreements ultimately fell apart. See Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 294-309.

[103] Newspaper account of Jinnah's speech as reported in the Bombay Chronicle, 12 December 1924; quoted in Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 165.

protection and collaboration with those in charge. Now, victories on the field of play provided the Muslims with affirmations of strength despite the communities relative size vis-à-vis the Hindus. With a growing seed of Pakistani nationalism being nurtured by the Muslim League, these triumphs against the Hindus and English must have been most welcome to their cause. It should come as no surprise that some of the best Muslim players came from Aligarh, home of Sir Sayyid's Anglo-Oriental College. Three standout Muslim players would ultimately enjoy the unique feat of playing for both the Indian and Pakistani national cricket teams.

C. PRINCELY CRICKET

A final key constituency related to the development of Indian cricket consists of the greatest collaborators during the British Raj, the many Nawabs and Rajas that took to the game. Their motivations for participating in this *team* sport proved suspect on the surface, as one historian pointed out, "by the time cricket was being taken up by Indians it was heavily laden with Victorian ideals of teamwork, discipline and togetherness, ideals that meant little to an Indian prince."[104] However, a closer look at exactly how and why the princes took to cricket says a lot about the nature of the game, as well as who called the shots in Indian society at the time.

The princes, as a group, were not at all concerned about proving themselves to the British via their cricket prowess, at least not in nationalist terms. However, they did develop a taste for the pageantry, social mobility, and glory that cricket so easily accommodates. When it came to playing the game, princes were known to cherry-pick the sweetest roles of captains and batsmen, and left the less glamorous duties of bowling and fielding to lesser men.

The major princely influences include some impressive cricket talents, none more so than Kumar Sri Ranjitsinhji, or "Ranji" for short. By all accounts Ranji was a complex man. He learned to play cricket at the same public high school attended by M.K. Gandhi in Rajkot. From there he went to Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1891. In

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[104] Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 44.

England Ranji became an exceptional batsman playing for Cambridge, Sussex county, and ultimately for England itself.[105] As a result of his batting prowess Ranji became "the first Indian of any kind to become universally known and popular," and he parlayed his cricket dominance into social acceptability in England's highest class, as well as preferential treatment from the British rulers in India.[106] Ranji's entire first-class cricket career took place in England, and he played almost no cricket in India itself. He thought of himself as an English cricketer and an Indian prince, and from all accounts he kept these parts of his life almost completely separate. By 1907 Ranji ascended to the throne as the ruler of Nawanagar, and his best cricketing days were behind him. Ranji had little direct influence on Indian cricket. However, two years after his death in 1932, the inaugural Ranji Cricket Tournament was held in his memory.[107]

As mentioned, the princes did not play cricket to symbolically overthrow the British, nor were they particularly sympathetic to the nationalist cause in general. In fact, the British Empire allied with the princes, who controlled a third of India, in such a way as to help them safeguard the remaining two-thirds under British control. As the Indian nationalist movement grew, so did the relations between the British and the princes, for they both saw the nationalists as a threat to their immediate interests.[108] Princes continued to play a role in Indian cricket right up to independence in 1947, after which their role in both Indian cricket and Indian society were greatly diminished.

D.   TRANSITION FROM COMMUNAL TO MIXED TEAMS

While Ranade, Gokhale, Baloo, Ambedkar, and Gandhi all championed the cause of caste reform in their own way, a related social dynamic continued to fester. The concept of cricket teams broken down along communal lines began to raise strong objections in the early years of the twentieth century. Since its inception, the annual Bombay tournament between the British and various communal teams was the

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[105] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 94.

[106] Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 42.

[107] Ibid., 40.

[108] Ibid., 44-62.

penultimate of Indian cricket. Now, with the rise in nationalist and inter-religious tensions, this communal structure came under serious scrutiny.

As the central hub for the nationalist movement, all social events in Bombay were increasingly politicized; cricket was no exception. Bombay would become a battleground for the resolution of what was now the dominant question of Indian politics: "Was India a nation, or merely an assemblage of different communities given an artificial unity by British rule?"[109] Nationalist leaders argued for cricket teams broken down along regional lines instead of exclusive religious groupings. Towards this direction the newly formed Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) proposed a championship tournament consisting of regional teams, instead of communal, to play for the Ranji Trophy beginning in 1934.[110]

Over the next twelve years the Bombay communal tournament competed with the Ranji Trophy for promotion, players, and gate receipts. Defenders of the communal format included many Englishmen, Indian cricketers, and fans of the Bombay tournament's long-time tradition. They were quick to point out the lack of any violence or unrest in the history of the tournament, the virtues of sportsmanship on display, and the hypocrisy of singling out cricket while the rest of Indian society was full of other communal divisions.

> Why object to this cricket tournament when communal labels were tolerated everywhere else? There were Hindu hotels and Muslim hotels, and separate drinking bowls marked Hindu and Muslim at every railway station. Even the Muslim League, admittedly the most aggressive political organization, is recognized as such by the Congress.[111]

Throughout this period Indians would ask, and answer, probing questions about their society, which would ultimately define the destiny of South Asia. In this, cricket played a role, and the study of cricket history during these tumultuous times certainly translates into an illustrative portrayal of this era. While the World Wars raged, the

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[109] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 230.

[110] Ibid., 234.

[111] K.F. Nariman, *Bombay Sentinel*, 16 Dec 1940, quoted in Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 276.

independence movement strengthened, and the fissures between Hindus and Muslims grew, the ever-present debate between communal and regional cricket carried on.

Eventually, even Gandhi himself, was asked to weigh in on the cricket issue. Amidst a backdrop of WWII, the Hindu Cricket Club of Bombay sought Gandhi's counsel as they wrestled with a decision whether or not to boycott Bombay's communal Quadrangular format. By 1940, the pressure on the communal tournament had built to the point where the players themselves began to question the morality of their matches, and they appealed to the Mahatma for moral guidance. Gandhi's thoughts on the subject reflect his broader political views:

> I must confess that my sympathies are wholly with those who would like to see the matches stopped… I would discountenance such amusements at a time when the whole of the thinking world should be in mourning over a war that is threatening the stable life of Europe and its civilization and which bids fair to overwhelm Asia… I would like the public of Bombay to revise their sporting code and erase from it communal matches…I have never understood the reason for having Hindu, Parsi, Muslim and other Communal Elevens…Can we not have some field of life which would be untouched by communal spirit?[112]

The Hindu team heeded Gandhi's wishes in 1940 and withdrew from Bombay's communal tournament. This appeasement was short-lived however, and the Hindu team rejoined the communal format the following year.

Eventually, the communal format gave way, and by 1946 the Ranji Trophy finally became the pinnacle of Indian cricket competition. A commentary in Calcutta's Illustrated News outlined communal cricket's obituary:

> Communal cricket must go by the board and be buried—buried five fathoms deep… (It) is basically wrong and… has outlived its usefulness… Communalism is indisputably the bane of Indian political life and, for that matter, Indian national life. It would follow, therefore, even as two and two is four, that communal cricket is opposed to national cricket.[113]

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[112] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 271.

[113] Berry Sarbadhikary, Indian Cricket Uncovered, Calcutta: Illustrated News, 1945, pp. 60-74, in *Indian Cricket Through the Ages*, ed. Boria Majumdar (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 333-345.

Figure 5 shows the increase in number of major cricket tournaments in Indian starting in 1868, as well as the percentage of tournaments that were made of communal versus integrated teams. The blue line indicates a trending increase in the raw number of tournaments. The red and green lines indicate the reversal from communal based tournaments (shown in percentage) to the integrated format which began after 1908 and which completely reversed by 1946. After 1946, there were no more major communal cricket tournaments in India, and the Ranji Cup reigns as India's premiere domestic tournament to this day.

This ultimate rejection of the communal format unfolded over many years. Initial objections to the communal set-up came in the late 1920s, and outright boycotts and cancelations of the tournament coincided with the jailing of INC leaders in the early 1930s. However, it wasn't until 1946 (just months before independence) that the biggest cricket tournament in India finally broke away from its communal structure. By this time, from a pro-nationalist perspective, the communal format's benefits had been realized, in that the tournament provided a venue for competition against the colonial power, and it compelled the teams of the various communities to set aside their inter-societal divisions in order to field the best team possible. The question of whether India could continue on this trajectory, and meld these various communities into a nation, seemed to slowly reveal itself as time went on. Faced with political pressure and changing popular sentiment, it seems tournament organizers finally concluded the virtues of inter-communal rivalry were trumped by the broader sense of national interest. The causal relationship between political pressure and the reversal of the format of cricket tournaments may be difficult to establish, yet cricket's growing significance in India's burgeoning nation seems indisputable.
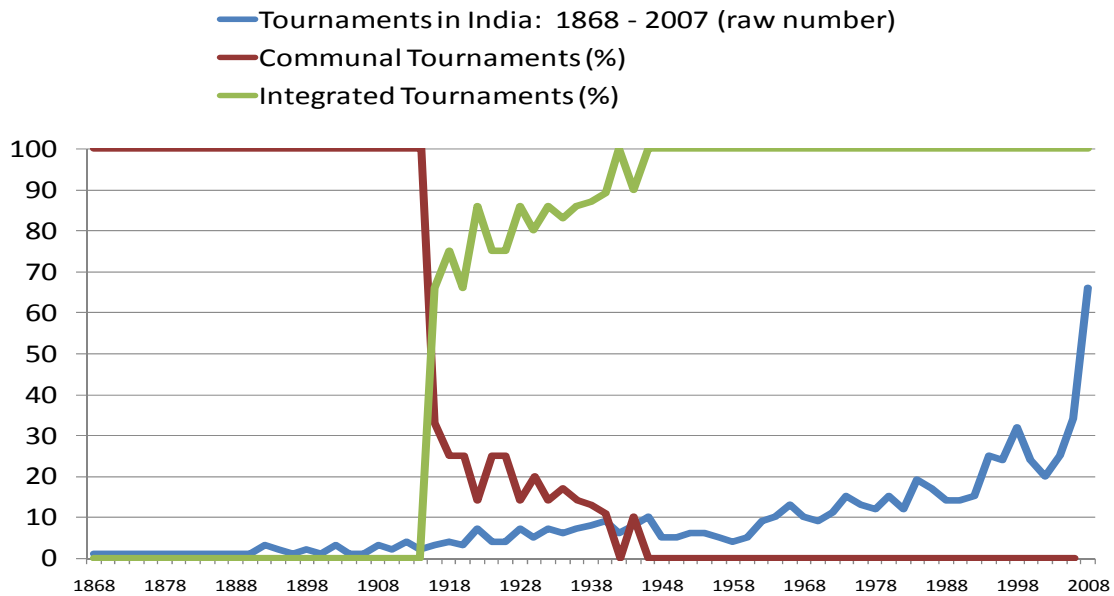
**Figure 5.   Summary of Major Indian Cricket Tournaments: 1868—2008.
(After: Cricket Archive)[114]**

Even with the transition toward a regional format it must be noted that Bombay has rarely ceded its dominance in India's domestic play. Anyone doubting Bombay's preeminence in Indian cricket need only consider the following statistic: since the inception of the Ranji cup, which has continued without interruption since 1934, teams from Bombay/Mumbai have reached the finals 41 times, winning the Ranji Trophy on all but four of those occasions.[115]   The point of noting Bombay's dominance is not to provide that city bragging rights, instead, it's meant to enable comparisons with other cities in India that had also taken to the game.

The first major cricket match involving Indians held *outside* of Bombay occurred in 1900, when a team formed by the Maharaja of Patiala took on the Punjab Presidency. Subsequent tournaments with Indian participation began in Calcutta (1913), Madras

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[114] Data compiled from the Cricket Archive, http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/ IND.html, (accessed October 2008).

[115] Known as Bombay during the British Raj era, Mumbai was the name used by Marathi and Gujarati-speakers. The name was officially changed to its Marathi pronunciation of *Mumbai* in 1996. Cricket Archive, http://www.cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events /IND.html (accessed November 2008).

(1915), Sind (1919), Central Provinces (1919), Lahore (1922), Nagpur (1922), and Delhi (1928).[116]   Many, but not all, of these tournaments followed the Bombay model of communal-based teams. One of the exceptions was the Madras Presidency Tournament. This annual event between the "Europeans" and the "Indians," began in 1915, and continued even after independence, with its last match taking place in 1952. Unlike the communal based sides, the Indian team in Madras fielded the best team possible, which included Hindu, Muslim, and Indo-Christian players all on one team. The integrated Indian team in Madras also looked beyond its regional borders for talent. Some of their best players were recruited from neighboring regions, like India's great batsman, C.K. Nayudu of Indore, and Mohammed Hussain of Secunderabad. Their inter-communal unity paid dividends right from the start. In their first six years of the Madras Presidency matches the Indian side defeated the British four times, with one draw, and only one loss.[117]

E.   SUMMARY

Examining how and why each of the different communities came to cricket tells a story. While they all played the same game, their motivations were certainly unique. Initial Parsee success drove the other religious communities to get into the game. As minority groups, the Parsees and Muslims were drawn to cricket, in part, as a way to improve relations with the British rulers. The privileged princely class had similar motivations, albeit in a more complex relationship than that of the native subjects under direct British rule. As for the majority communal group, the Hindus seemed to stumble initially, mainly as a result of their own inter-caste discord; yet the invaluable talents of one of their *Untouchable* fellow Hindus quickly transcended those prejudices, and inspired the father of India's constitution as well.

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[116] Cricket Archive, http://www.cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/IND.html (accessed November 2008).

[117] W. D. Begg, "Cricket and Cricketers in India," Amjer, 1934, pp. 237-46, in *Indian Cricket Through the Ages*, ed. Boria Majumdar (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 333-345.

The evolution of forming teams along communal lines reflected the broad societal divisions; and, more specifically, the British divide-and-rule tactics, survival instincts of the Parsee and Muslim minority communities, and the stratifications of the Hindu caste system. The unevenness of cricket's evolution in subsequent areas beyond Bombay indicates a transforming society over time, as well as regional differences in inter-communal attitudes. The slow, yet persistent pressure to do away with communal teams, in favor of a less chauvinistic format, symbolized the intellectual awakening of the broader nationalist vision. It is fascinating to imagine India's nationalist leadership developing their ideals with a backdrop of contentious cricket matches taking place in all of Bombay's available green space.

On the other hand, tracing the cricketing history of India's neighbor to the north would have its roots firmly planted in the wickets and pitches of Bombay as well. The ever-increasing skill, confidence, and visibility of the Muslim cricket teams served as a self-reinforcing, positive feedback loop for a separate group of independence-minded nationalists. Muslim victories on the cricket field helped a vast community develop a vision of Pakistan, and the possibility of Pakistan perhaps inspired Muslim cricket teams to play a little harder. In 1947, India joined the independent cricket-playing Commonwealth nations, with Pakistan following suit in 1952.

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IV. CRICKET'S CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL SOLIDIFICATION

A. INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

This chapter provides evidence supporting the claim that cricket helped India's diverse polity create shared social experiences and memories, thereby promoting societal solidification. Today's conventional wisdom on the nation-state phenomenon holds that a modern country is a political entity with elements of uniform national culture. Benedict Anderson, a leading scholar in the "modernist" school of nationalism, defines the nation as an "imagined political community." He says nations are *imagined* because individual citizens "will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." And members imagine themselves as part of a *community* because, "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship."[118]

Anthony Smith, another prominent scholar on the subject of nationalism, says that elements of a nation's common culture strengthen its societal bonds. Multi-ethnic nations like India borrow some aspects of their common culture in order to promote a more "civic character." Instead of relying solely on cultural forms of one dominant ethnic group and ignoring others, successful pluralist societies, like the United States and India, seek to overlay elements of commonality to strengthen the bonds between all. These common elements of *public* culture, like shared flags, anthems, festivals, ceremonies, and sports, serve to strengthen the *political* culture, thereby reinforcing both sides of the hyphenated *nation-state*.[119]

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[118] Benedict Anderson*, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (New York: Verso, 2006), 5-7. Modernists view nationalism as a modern phenomenon, without pre-modern roots; versus primordialists who see the nation as a natural step along the broader march of social organization. Anderson is widely considered one of the leading scholars of the modernist view. For a broad discussion on the full spectrum of nationalist theory see, Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007).

[119] Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007) 13 & 34.

Set firmly in the modernist approach, this chapter examines how Indian cricket contributed to India's distinct style of imagining its national community. This study argues that India *borrowed* cricket from the British and incorporated it into India's common culture, thus allowing the members of its nation to imagine their community and overcome, or at least suppress, many of their actual inequalities and divisions.

After a brief overview of the last 60 years, this chapter explores evidence supporting claims of cricket's contributions to solidification, and tries to put this evidence into a broader context. The first pillar of the argument considers data showing a general upward trend in the number of major tournaments held each year in India. The last six decades have seen a significant increase in the volume of cricket events held annually. Evidence showing the growth of women's cricket is also presented in this section. This data demonstrates cricket's steadily growing popularity over time.

The second pillar examines cricket's spread beyond the colonial-era centers, as it extended its influence into almost all regions of India. This finding is based on data from the Ranji tournament, as well as a study on the birth places of India's national players. While Chapter III demonstrated that colonial cricket was essentially restricted to urban centers, especially Bombay, this section will show cricket has since migrated outward into almost all of India's geographical regions. The migration from the cities into the rural heartland shows the deep penetrating characteristics of Indian cricket.

Third, the religious and regional demographics of India's national team are studied to support claims of broad societal representation. Studying the religious affiliations and places of birth of all 259 players who have represented India confirms cricket's broad appeal. The transition from communally separate teams to a fully integrated approach is epitomized by the demographics of India's national team. The nearly perfect cross-religious representation of India's national team compared to the broader society indicates cricket's strength as a unifying national symbol.

Finally, after understanding where cricket has thrived in India, a comparison can be made between those cricketing areas, and the regions of conflict according to the SATP map discussed in Chapter I. This study will show correlations between areas with

a strong cricket presence and the most solidified areas of India. The correlation of high cricket participation and low conflict areas does not provide evidence suggesting causation; however, the mere fact that conflict areas are essentially void of cricket is worthy of consideration. Examining cricket's overall impact on Indian society from these various angles illustrates an aspect of India's unique style of imagining itself; which, according to the experts of nationalist theory, is a necessary condition of successful solidification.

B. OVERVIEW OF POST-COLONIAL CRICKET

Chapter III showed that Bombay was very much the focal point of Indian cricket during the late colonial period. The year 1946 marked the end of the communal Pentangular and the rise of the regionally organized Ranji tournament beginning a process of decentralization and diffusion. Cricket stopped being an expression of communal solidarity, and transformed into a source of intense provincial, state, and national pride. The reorganization of India's states along linguistic lines in 1956 further strengthened local patriotisms. These states newly aligned with local ethnic languages now had their state cricket team to cheer for, as well as any local players selected to represent India at the national level.[120]

Cricket's migration into India's hinterlands was spurred by a confluence of factors. Cricket received support and sponsorship from societal elites and official state institutions. In addition, the relatively higher status of cricket, as compared to the more plebian football and less glamorous hockey, further helped secure its preeminence. Finally, technological developments in mass communications were an additional catalyst in cricket's spread throughout India.

Cricket's rise in popularity marched along with advances in technology like radio, satellite television, and the internet, and was fueled by their associated advertising revenues. Cricket's spread from the major cities out to the states coincided with an increasing pool of spectators and cricket fans from a widening class spectrum. Whereas

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[120] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 325.

in the colonial era, cricket mainly catered to the urban, English educated elites; the evolution of post-independence cricket truly transcended the boundaries of gender, class, and region.[121]

Cricket's various spheres of popularity ultimately included: high school and university clubs; state-level Ranji teams; India's national cricket team; and the recent emergence of two professional cricket leagues, the BCCI sanctioned Indian Premier League, and the unsanctioned private upstart, the Indian Cricket League. These two competing commercial leagues account for the tremendous spike in major cricket tournaments indicated on Figure 7 for 2007.

C.   BREADTH AND DEPTH OF CRICKET'S PROPAGATION

1.   Major Tournaments in India since 1947

Figure 7 shows the trending growth of major cricket tournaments played in India. The blue line shows all major tournaments and the red indicates women's cricket, which began play in 1974. The large spike depicted in 2007 (63 total tournaments) is largely due to the two new commercial leagues (IPL and ICL), as well as an explosion of cricket in the state of Kerala (15 tournaments) and women's cricket (7 tournaments). While India's national team garners most of the glory and popularity of Indian cricket, the major increase in play has occurred at the domestic level with many of the nation-wide tournaments tied to commercial sponsors, for example: the Pepsi Cup, the FedEx Cup, the Hero Honda Cup, and the Coca-Cola Triangular. The annual Ranji Trophy continues to be the most prestigious domestic tournament, and its best players routinely feed the national team roster.

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[121] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 329.

Total Major Cricket Tournaments in India: 1947 -2007
Women's Tournaments in India
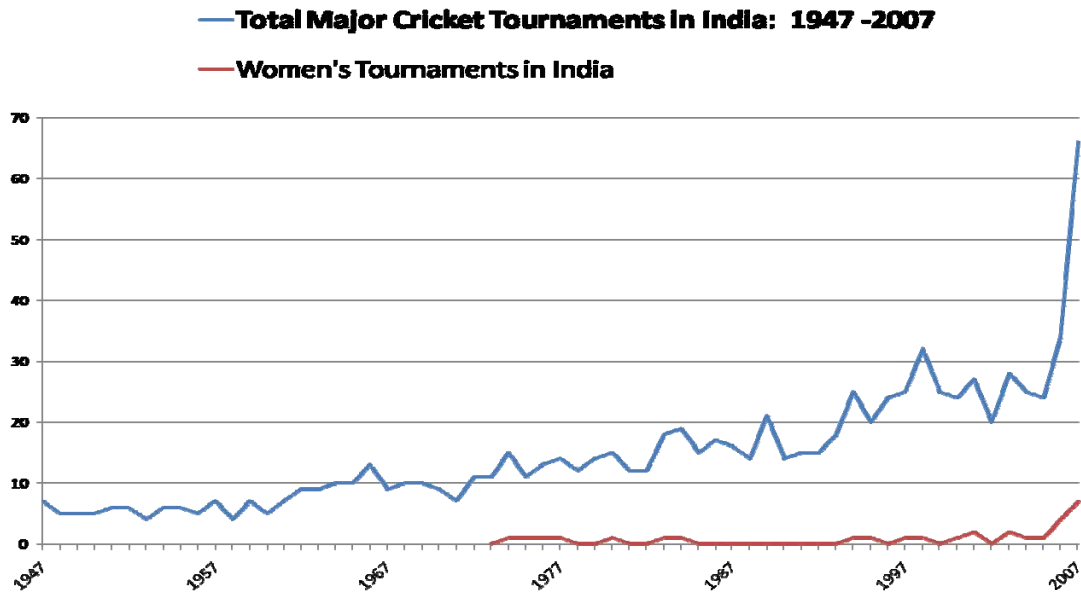
Figure 6.   India's Major Cricket Tournaments. (After: Cricket Archive)[122]

The small, but growing segment of women's cricket began play in the early 1970s in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh. Since then, the women's national team has participated in six out of the last eight Women's World Cups, and they had their highest finish as runners up in the last World Cup tournament in 2005. An indication of the popularity and growth of women's cricket in India is seen at the stadium gates. In India's first women's test match in 1976, they played in front of a respectable crowd of 25,000 in Patna, Bihar, which surprised the visiting West Indies ladies, since women's international cricket typically drew much smaller crowds. By 1997, the finals of the Women's World Cup match hosted in India entertained almost 80,000 spectators at Eden Gardens in Calcutta.[123] For comparison, consider that the all-time attendance record of a Women's National Basketball Association game in the U.S. is just over 22,000.[124]

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[122] Compiled from Cricket Archive, http://www.cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/IND.html (accessed November 2008).

[123] Maps of India, http://www.mapsofindia.com/cricket/indian-cricket.html, (accessed November 2008).

[124] WNBA Finals Game Sets New Attendance Record, http://www.wnba.com/finals2003/attendance_030916.html, (accessed November 2008.)

2.   Ranji Tournament States

Cricket's popularity spread from the main cities of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta to the individual states that are represented by teams participating in the annual Ranji Trophy. Most Indian states send Ranji teams to the annual tournament, although there are a few exceptions. As of 2008, nine of India's 28 states did not have a Ranji team, most of which are in the north east (see Figure 6). The designers of the Ranji tournament divided India into five zones: north, south, east, west, and central. As many as 27 different teams play to win their zones, and then face off against other zonal winners in the finals. Most Ranji teams represent states; however, there are the odd teams like the Railroads and Services.[125] Other exceptions are made to cater to areas that can support more than one team, including teams from major cities like Mumbai and Hyderabad.
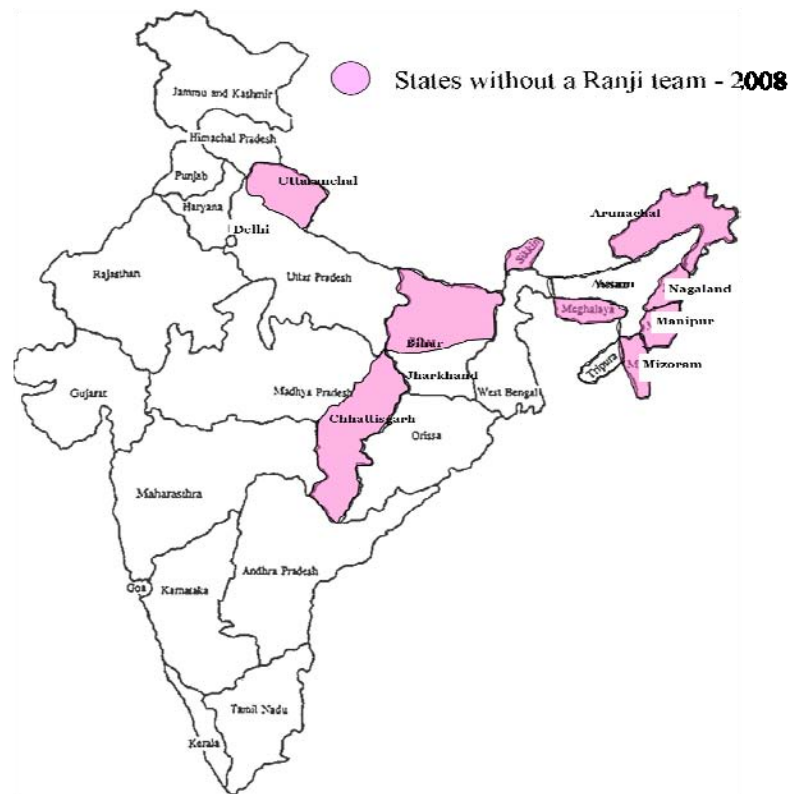
Figure 7.   States without Ranji Teams—2008. (After: Cricket Archive)[126]

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[125] The Services team consists of players from India's military.

[126] Cricket Archive, http://www.cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/IND/Ranji_Trophy_2008-09/Squads.html (accessed November 2008).

Figure 7 shows a map of India's states. The states shown in white had Ranji teams participating in the latest annual tournament, while the states in pink did not participate. The lack of Ranji participation on behalf of these states forms the first pillar of evidence supporting the claim that these are regions devoid of cricket's solidification effects.

The annual Ranji tournament served two key roles. First, it provided a yearly cricket ritual at the local level, creating a buzz of excitement and expectation that contributed to regional pride. Second, it established a training ground and pool of talent for the development of national players. The Ranji organizers and the BCCI worked together in developing talent and establishing an effective selection process for the national team. The selection committee for India's national team included members from each of the five Ranji zonal regions.

D.   DEMOGRAPHICS OF INDIA'S NATIONAL TEAM

Chapter V will take an in-depth look at how India's national team has enhanced India's international standing. However, before looking outward from India, this section examines the internal demographic make-up of the 259 players who have played for the national team. This study combines data from a variety of sources to determine the names, birthplaces, and probable religious backgrounds of each Indian test player to date.

The sources used to compile this data include a similar study conducted by Richard Cashman covering the period from 1932-1977, Mihir Bose's *A History of Indian Cricket* published in 1990, and two cricket websites to fill in the most recent years, and also to validate the earlier studies. Names and birth places are relatively easy to find; however, the third variable of religious background presents more of a challenge.

1.   Religious Affiliations

Comprehensive data regarding the religious affiliations of India's national players appears nonexistent. Yet, religious divides in India are among the nation's greatest challenges, so it helps to have an understanding of just how representative the national

cricket team is in order to determine the sport's capability to bridge these gaps. Therefore, this study takes the first cut at compiling the religious background for all of India's test players that I am aware of. To do so, I noted any specific references of individual Indian test player's religious affiliations while conducting the overall research for this thesis. Casual references to religious orientation were recorded and compiled for many of the 259 players. Roughly a third of the earliest affiliations were easy to establish because records of a player's team they played for under the communal formats were readily available. Similarly, many of the more recent players have comprehensive biographical information, including their religion, readily accessible on the internet.

Where there are holes left after using these methods, I relied my own understanding of Indian names to make educated interpolations.[127] Working with the Indian military, for two years I was exposed to Indians from all over the country. Thankfully, my colleagues all wore name tags on their uniforms. As a result of this experience, I developed a keen ability to derive as much information as possible just from knowing a name. There is a long list of general guidelines for employing this technique, and it is by no means infallible. However, I expect my final assessment carries a fairly high degree of accuracy. After I made my own analysis, I submitted my list to a number of Indian friends for their inputs and oversight.

My data provides the best possible first-draft subject to the validation of future scholarship. The top image in Figure 8 shows the religious breakdown of all 259 players of India's national team since 1932. Below that are two census figures of similar data, one from 1951, the other from 2001. Census data did not indicate the Parsee religion specifically; their numbers have to be inferred in the "other" category.

The Appendix has the complete lists of Indian Test players from 1932–2008. The data includes: their full names, places of birth, date of test debuts, and my collected and estimated data of their religious affiliations. Ideally, the player's demographics would be compared with national census figures from the same period of time; however, this data is not available. Instead, the player demographics are compared with two snapshots, the

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[127] For additional commentary on the names of Indian cricket players see Appendix F, A Note on Indian Names in, Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 549.

first national census of 1951, and the latest census from 2001. The religious demographics of India's test players very closely match these two census periods. In fact, cricket players from all minority groups are slightly over-represented.
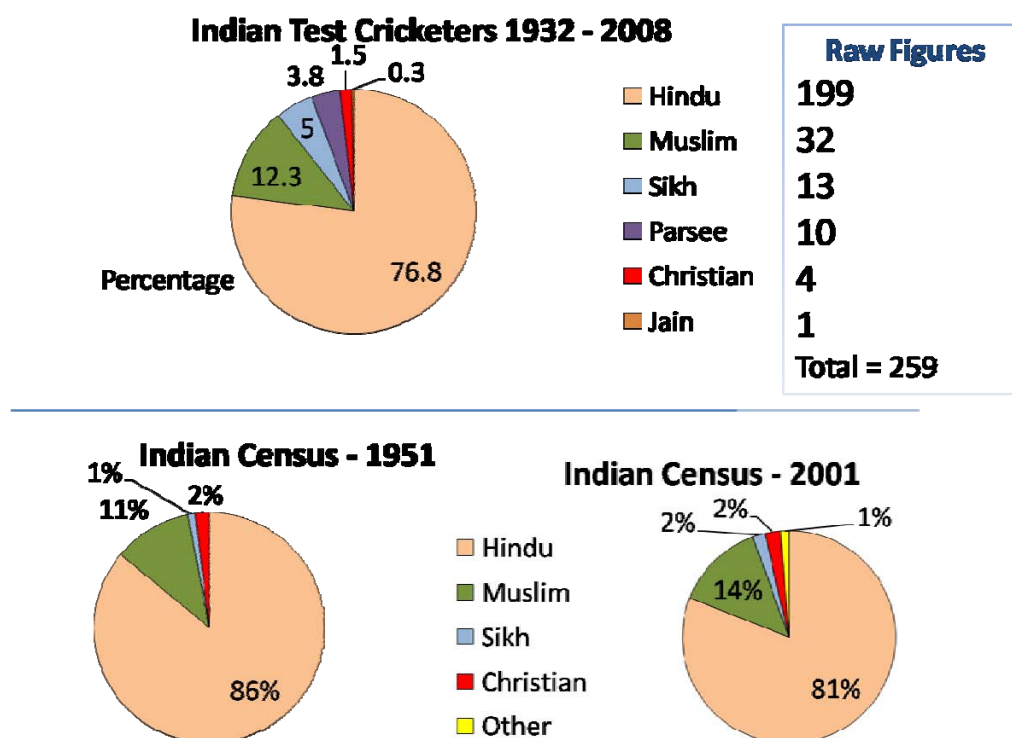
Figure 8. **Indian Test Players Compared to 1951 and 2001 Census. (After: Cricket Archive; Mihir Bose,** *A History of Indian Cricket***; and Richard Cashman,** *The Phenomenon of Indian Cricket*)[128]

Of the national team's 259 players, 12.3% have been Muslim. The figure puts the representation of India's biggest minority group squarely in the middle of the two

[128] Data for the religious affiliations for test cricketers was compiled from a variety of sources. Players who had competed in communal matches were categorized by the teams that they played for. This source accounted for most of the early players. Other sources include: Cricket Archive, http://www. cricketarchive.com/Archive /Events/IND.html (accessed November 2008); Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), Appendix E; Richard Cashman, *The Phenomenon of Indian Cricket, Patrons, Players and the Crowd* (New Delhi: Orient Longman Limited, 1980), Appendix 4; and my own personal understanding of Indian nameology. For 1951 census figures see, Neil DeVotta, "Demography and Communalism in India" *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 56, no. 1, (Fall 2002): 53. For 2001 census see, http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/India_at _glance/religion.aspx (accessed November 2008).

snapshots from the 1951 and 2001 censuses. India's other minority groups are also well represented on the nation's cricket team, with the Sikhs and Parsees almost double the Indian-wide statistics, and the Christian players only .5% behind the steady 2% nation-wide.

At first glance these statistics may seem insignificant or even expected. Logically, it makes sense that the cricket demographics are fairly close. Why shouldn't a national sports team reflect the society at large? However, these figures are actually quite stunning in that they represent a very small data field (only 259 players), spread out over a very long period (76 years). Yet, they are almost exactly in line with the national numbers, especially for the two largest communities, Hindus and Muslims. Furthermore, these players were selected by the BCCI committee to the national team based on their merit and cricketing skills. There were no special reservations, quotas, or affirmative action policies to induce players from certain religions. Instead of these figures being what one would expect, the reality of Indian society is that few, if any, areas are *as* demographically equitable as the national cricket team without deliberate reservation policies in place.[129]

2. Places of Birth—First 128 Players Compared to Second 128

The second finding from looking deeper into the demographics of India's test players considers the players' places of birth. Data showing the number of test players from India's states from one period of time, and comparing it to later period, helps illustrate cricket's spread into India's rural areas over time (see Table 2 and Figure 9). This comparison shows the concentration of India's test cricketers in the state of Maharashtra in the first 39 years, and then moving outward to states like Uttar Pradesh,

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[129] The reservation culture in India reaches far and wide. On the whole, it is a form of affirmative action which sets aside a certain percentage of seats in both the public and private spheres at the national, state, and local levels. These policies are institutionalized in India's Constitution, which sets aside up to 15% of the seats in government funded educational institutions as well as government jobs for members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The percentages of reservation have fluxed over time, and the overall theory remains contentious. The ultimate intention is to provide grossly under-represented groups with access to opportunities for social development; however, many have seen these policies as divisive and undemocratic. For a discussion on the extensiveness of the reservation policies see, V.A. Pai Panandiker, *The Politics of Backwardness: Reservation Policy in India* (India: Ronark Publishers, 1997).

Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu since 1972.   The tables provide the actual numbers, while the maps use the same data to graphically depict the migration.

Birthplace of 1st 128 Test Players by State 1932–1971			
Maharashtra	51	Rajasthan	2
Gujarat	18	Bihar	1
Punjab	13	Haryana	1
Tamil Nadu	9	Kerala	1
Andhra Pradesh	8	Delhi	1
Karnataka	7	Chandigarh	1
Bengal	5	Daman	1
Uttar Pradesh	3	Goa	1
Madhya Pradesh	3	Total	128

Birthplace of 2nd 128 Test Players by State 1972–2008			
Maharashtra	28	Bengal	4
Gujarat	14	Chandigarh	3
Uttar Pradesh	13	Kerala	3
Tamil Nadu	13	Mysore	2
Punjab	11	Orissa	2
Delhi	9	Madhya Pradesh	1
Andhra Pradesh	9	Haryana	1
Karnataka	9	Rajasthan	1
Bihar	5	Total	128

Table 2.   **Birthplace of India's Test Players: Two Periods. (After: Richard Cashman, *The Phenomenon of Indian Cricket*; and Cricket Info)[130]**
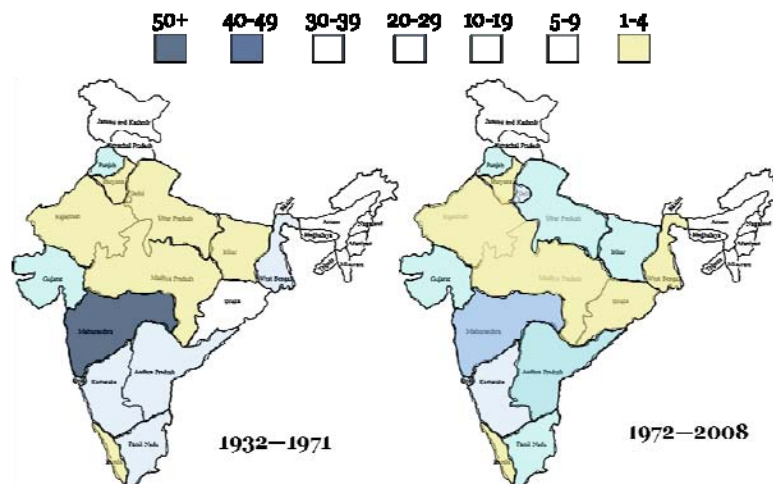
Figure 9.   Birthplace of Test Players, shown graphically. (After: Richard Cashman, *The Phenomenon of Indian Cricket*; and Cricket Info)[131]

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[130] After: source for 1932-1971 table: Richard Cashman, *The Phenomenon of Indian Cricket, Patrons, Players and the Crowd* (New Delhi: Orient Longman Limited, 1980), 169. Source for 1972-2008 table: Cricket Info, http://content-usa.cricinfo.com/australia/content/player/caps.html?country =6;class=1 (accessed November 2008).

[131] After: source for 1932-1971 map: Richard Cashman, *The Phenomenon of Indian Cricket, Patrons, Players and the Crowd* (New Delhi: Orient Longman Limited, 1980), 169. Source for 1972-2008 map: Cricket Info, http://content-usa.cricinfo.com/australia/content/player/caps.html?country =6;class=1 (accessed November 2008).

As indicated in Table 2 and Figure 9, and confirmed during the historical analysis of Chapter III, the first 128 players that made their way through the junior ranks and onto the national team were largely centered in the Bombay area.[132] The map to the right demonstrates the migration of the national team's second 128 cricketers, with a significant number still coming from Maharashtra, but with much more of India's territory colored light blue, indicating a more equitable distribution. The areas in white are the cricket frontiers that have failed to produce eve a single Test player. Where India's best cricketers hail from provides clues pointing to the degree of penetration into Indian society. All evidence indicates that cricket started out in urban areas with support from elites, and pushed its way into the rural areas to be largely embraced by the masses. The analysis of differences between areas that play cricket, versus regions that do not, will be considered in the next section.

E.   CRICKET CENTERS COMPARED TO CONFLICT AREAS

Having looked at where India's test players were born, this study next considers the locations where cricket is played, versus where it is not. These major cricketing centers are shown in relation to the SATP's conflict map (Figure 10) previously discussed in Chapter I. The SATP map is used as a baseline to indicate areas of conflict in present-day India; then this study then overlays data showing areas of major cricket activity. The various inputs provided to show cricket activity include aspects of state-level, as well as national play, and also represent significant investment in cricketing infrastructure.

Figure 11 shows a map of India indicating the country's 18 test stadiums, its eight Indian Premier League team cities, and its nine Indian Cricket League teams. As indicated, there is a correlation between areas of strong cricket presence with areas of low conflict. This figure shows Hyderabad as the only major cricket city falling within the

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[132] It should also be kept in mind that India's political map had changed significantly since 1932. The data presented in this section is overlaid on top of a more contemporary political map, showing modern Indian states instead of British Raj presidencies.

SATP designated conflict areas. As explained by SATP and Guha, this specific conflict area around Hyderabad pertains to the rural-based Naxalite insurgency.[133]
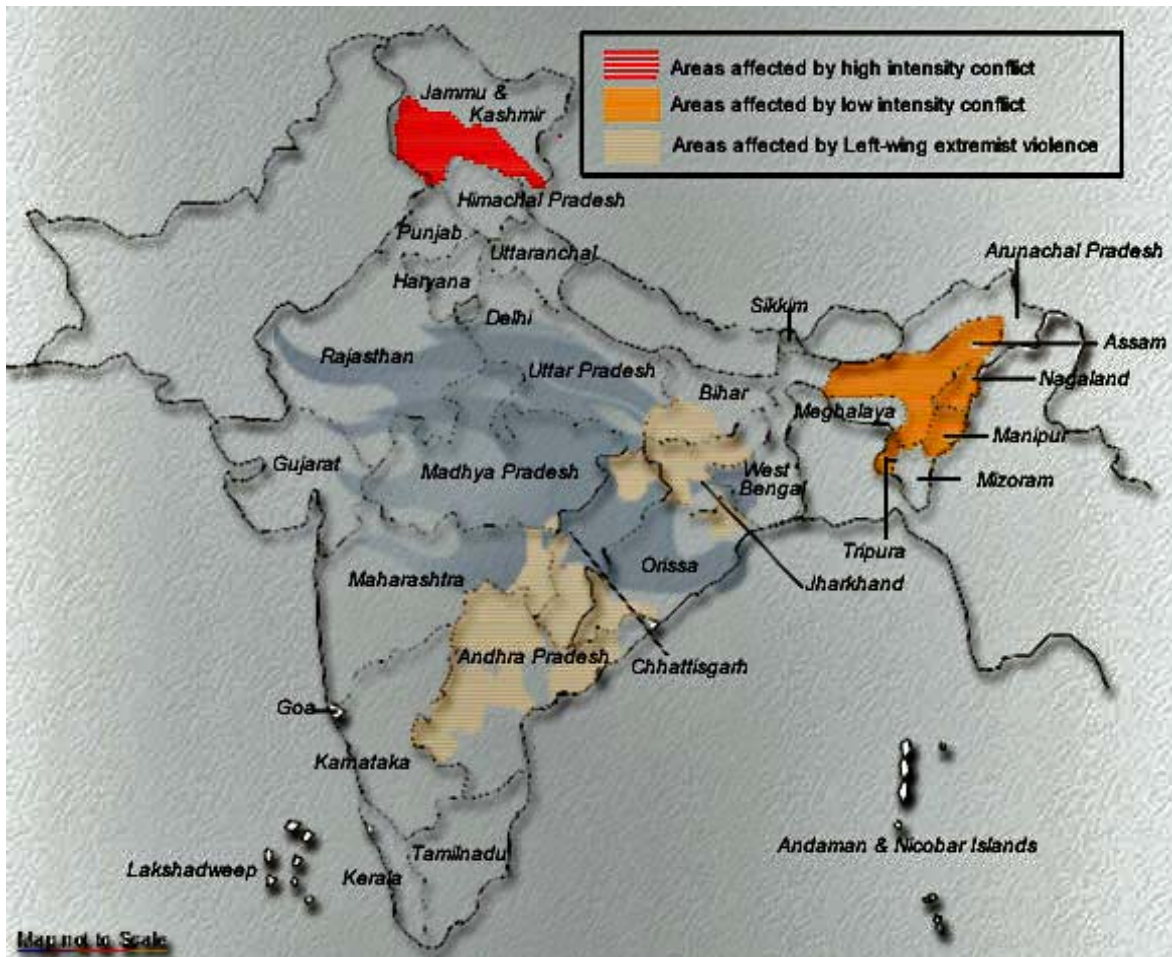
Figure 10. South Asian Terrorism Portal Conflict Map: 2002. (From: South Asian Terrorism Portal)[134]

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[133] Hyderabad falls within the conflict area; however, the rural nature of the Naxalite conflict means it does not penetrate into the city itself, a fact I can attest to as a resident of Hyderabad from 2003-2005.

[134] South Asian Terrorism Portal, India's Conflict Areas - 2002 Assessment, http://satp.org/ satporgtp/countries/india /assessment 2002.htm (accessed November 2008).
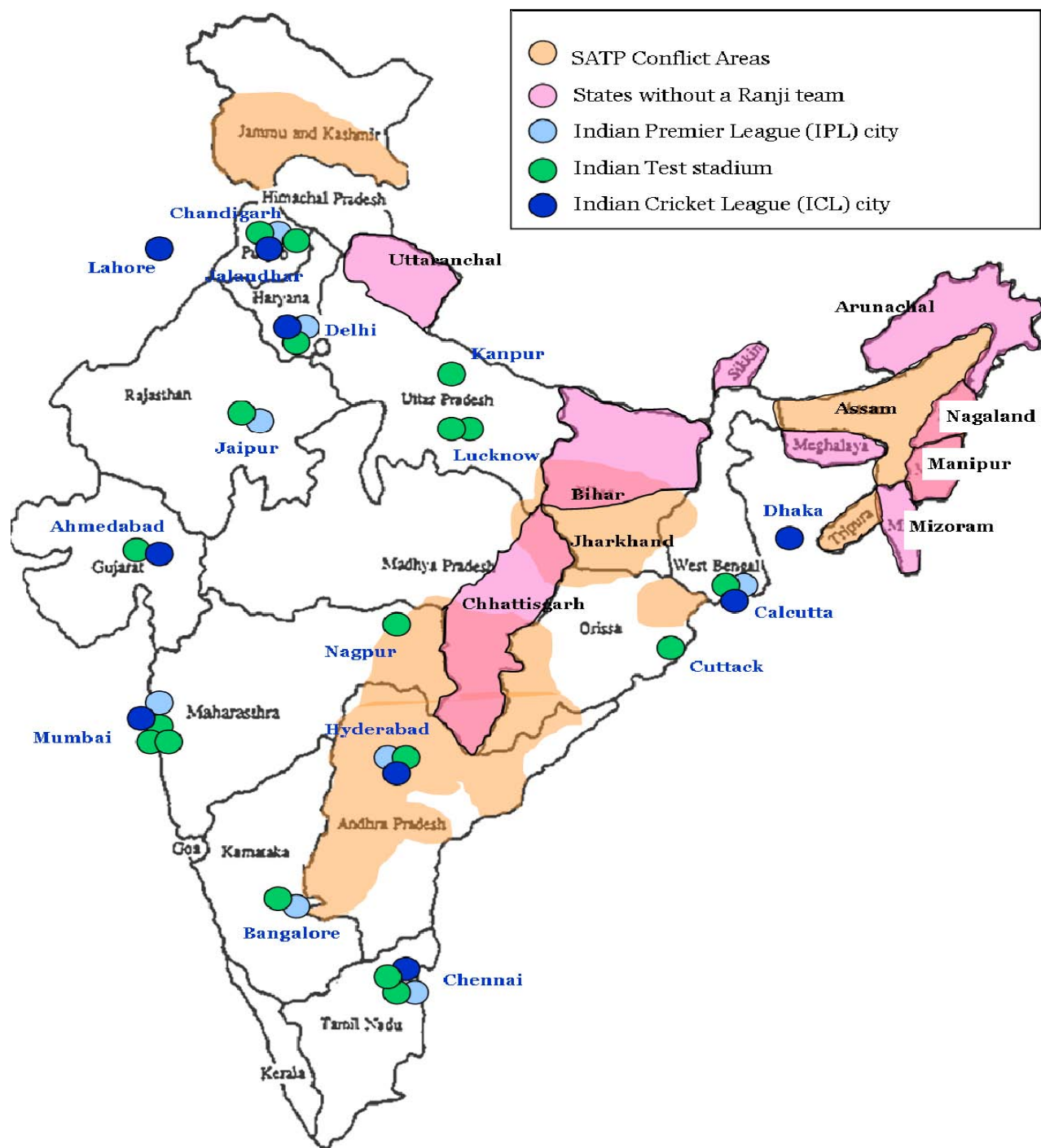
Figure 11.   India's Cricket Centers Compared to Conflict Areas. (After: Compiled data from SATP, IPL and CPL)[135]

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[135] The conflict areas shown in orange are transposed from the SATP conflict map from Chapter I.

The intention of bringing all these assembled facts together in one graphic representation is *not* to overstate the case. This study does not claim that India's conflict areas are in turmoil simply because they do not play cricket, or that cricket is the solution to the conflicts in these areas. Furthermore, this correlation is not perfect, and there are exceptions on both sides. Jammu and Kashmir have a Ranji team, yet it continues to be a region of turmoil. While parts of Bihar fall into SATP's region affected by left-wing extremists, yet it was in Patna, Bihar that women's first-class cricket made its debut.

While not perfect, this evidence *does* show a strong correlation between cricket centers and areas with nationalist sentiment. The evidence in this chapter suggests cricket has successfully spread throughout many areas of India. Furthermore, Indian cricket cuts across religious, regional, and gender lines within the broad society.

F.   HIDDEN CLUES

One last piece of non-scientific, yet illuminating, evidence that indicates cricket's prominence in Indian society is the special billing it has earned on the home pages of two of India's leading news websites. The Times of India gives "cricket" one of its top 16 categories, listing it along with "business," "infotech," "education," and others; and they also lists cricket as a separate tab from "sports" in general. While the Hindustan Times includes "cricket" in its top 15 tabs, and ignores the rest of sports all together. If there was any lingering doubt about the special status of cricket in Indian society, I think these inferential observations help put the matter to rest.

Figure 12.   Cricket's billing on prominent news websites. (After: Times of India and Hindustan Times)[136]

G.   INDIA WITHOUT CRICKET?

The counter-argument to this thesis thus far might be that cricket and India's transformations were unrelated. One might question whether cricket actually contributed to India's national solidification, or did it merely benefit from the broader national consolidation. And if it did contribute is some small way, is it really worth studying? As mentioned in the beginning of Chapter III, the dynamics of cricket and Indian nationalism are complex. Both variables changed over time, and the effects of one on the other were not always in a linear direction.

The doubts of the skeptic are fair, at least in that a simple causal relationship does not explain cricket's contribution. Instead, a more accurate assessment of the relationship between cricket and Indian society can be understood with an analogy. Imagine that cricket formed part of an even larger popular culture *river* which then flowed into the

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136 Times of India, http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com (accessed November 2008) and Hindustan Times, http://www.hindustantimes.com/Homepage/Homepage.aspx (accessed November 2008).

growing pool of Indian nationalism. The pool was also fed by other rivers consisting of developed institutions, democracy, and flexible language policies (as well as many others) to ultimately form an ever-broadening and deepening *ocean* of the Indian nation-state. While these various rivers always flowed into the ocean, sometimes the ocean waters fed the *clouds* which then rained into the rivers, thereby completing the positive feedback loop. The causal arrows in this river, ocean, and cloud analogy are not always linear, or uni-directional.

This thesis suggests cricket and Indian nationalism have enjoyed a similar relationship. If the river of cricket never existed, the Indian society would still exist; it just would not be as full. So the real test of cricket's relevance would be to somehow measure exactly how much it has contributed to Indian society. Unfortunately, the nature of this problem does not directly lend itself to quantitative methods. Instead, perhaps the argument for cricket's relevance can be strengthened using a brief counterfactual thought experiment in which an India, sans cricket, is imagined. The trip into a non-existent world of India without cricket will be brief and controlled, yet the controversial counterfactual method stands supported by other scholars who have concluded that, "there is absolutely no logical way to make causal inferences without simultaneously making assumptions about how events would have unfolded if the causal factors we consider crucial had taken on different forms."[137]   However, in order to put some controls, and reduce the potential chaos of imagining an alternate history, this experiment will be limited to just a few of the likely effects *directly* related to the absence of Indian's playing cricket.

Imagine if the Parsees never began to play cricket in the mid 1800s. Instead, they went about their business, keeping their heads down and playing their own games, or perhaps no games at all. Also imagine the Hindus, Muslims and princes failing to pick up the game. What would fill the void? Perhaps soccer, the British also brought this game with them to India, although to a much less degree. As more plebeian sport, soccer

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[137] Philip E. Tetlock and Geoffrey Parker, *Counterfactual Though Experiments*, in *Unmaking the West "What-If?" Scenarios that Rewrite World History*, (Ann Arbor Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2006), 14.

was very popular at home among the working class of England, but it was not favored by the class of English which largely made up the British Raj.[138] Soccer's development in Indian has been largely restricted to Bengalis in Calcutta who took to this game more than cricket,[139] but the hub for both cricket and Indian nationalism in the late 19th century was Bombay. Unless the British elites in Bombay were to play soccer instead of cricket (which they were not inclined to do), it's highly unlikely that soccer would have replaced cricket there. As for the princes, it's impossible to imagine them playing soccer instead of cricket. One of the main reasons they took to cricket were the opportunities for individual glory. Without princely cricket, much of the financial support would be gone for Indian cricket's development, as well as the international stardom of types like Prince Ranji.

Without cricket in Bombay, the growing nationalist sentiment would not have enjoyed the benefits of ritualistic competition the annual tournaments afforded. Furthermore, where else in mid-19th century Indian life would lower-caste Indians like Palwankar Baloo so visibly demonstrate their equal, or superior, sporting talents? Without cricket in Bombay, there would be no communal matches, nor the associated opportunities to measure one group against the other, including the colonial rulers. And without communal matches, the nationalist leaders would lose the ultimate lessons provided by the very visible, and much debated, moral dilemma of tournaments consisting of communal, versus mixed teams. Without the transition from communal to mixed teams, would Indians in Bombay have as much reason to question their individual identities and allegiances? Without this degree of questioning, would the ultimate strength of the nationalist movement progressed the way it did?

From another angle, perhaps an independent India without cricket would perform better in the Olympics. Every four years articles appear in Indian media essentially making this argument. But using this zero-sum logic, would it really be enough to make a difference? If all the money, time, and effort spent on Indian cricket were diverted to

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[138] Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 20.

[139] Ibid., 16-19. Bose explains that Bengalis took to British education and the arts, but the British in Bengal did not encourage Bengalis to play cricket.

Olympic development, or even international soccer, is it plausible that India would now be ranked in the top-tier of either of these prestigious venues?

Chapter V will further explore the return on India's cricket investment in terms of international prestige. The argument there, as it was in Chapters III and IV, is that cricket has made significant contributions to India's overall societal solidification. An India without cricket would seem to be an India wanting. It would be an Indian looking for something which could routinely bring all of its sub-groups together, without the divisive elements of religion, language, or region. It would be an India without a vibrant domestic sporting culture, and the associated pageantry. And it would be an India lacking in the international prestige that winning, in contests that are important to other nations, sometimes brings.

H.   SUMMARY

Based on the theory that modern nation-states require certain elements of common culture, this chapter explored various signs that cricket has served in that role for India. The imperfect, yet illuminative evidence presented in this chapter quantitatively showed cricket's expansive breadth and depth throughout the nation. Cricket's capability to cut across many societal divides makes it one of the few near-universally embraced elements of India's culture.

This study poses a major challenge in evidence collection. Statistical studies on India nationalism and cricket in India are few in number. While not ideal, the evidence used in this chapter aimed to support the broader historical analysis used in Chapter III, and establishes the foundation for the subsequent narrative in Chapter V. By attacking the problem of limited evidence sources from a wide variety of angles this chapter intended to triangulate the societal significance of Indian cricket.

The next chapter will consider how India's common cricket culture has been used by the nation-state to look beyond its borders in a quest for international prestige and relevance.

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V. CRICKET'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE AND DIPLOMACY

It shows we can do it!

—Indira Gandhi in 1983 after India won the Cricket World Cup.[140]

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter chronologically traces the highlights of cricket's contribution to projecting India's face to the rest of the world. While Chapter III looked at the independence movement, and Chapter IV considered cricket's significance at an internal and domestic level, this Chapter looks *outward*, exploring cricket's role as an expression of India's international prestige and diplomatic power.

Throughout this chapter India's national team receives much of the focus as their triumphs against other cricketing nations, including play against their arch rivals England and Pakistan, are examined. The glory and prestige of beating England, first at home in 1952, and then in England in 1971, are shown to be much more than just cricket matches to the psyche of the Indian nation. Each victory against its colonial master helped Indians tear down the myth of English invincibility.

When facing Pakistan, the highs and lows of the tumultuous history between these two South Asian rivals have often been reflected, and at times countered, by cricket matches between them. Cricket has served as both a proxy for war, as well as a vehicle for building confidence and trust. This chapter also examines other Indian milestones including its triumph in the 1983 Cricket World Cup against the West Indies, its runner-up status in 2003 falling to Australia in the finals, and India's co-hosting of the Cricket World Cup tournament in 1987 and 1996. By doing so, this section chronologically details key events in independent India's cricketing journey. The development of Indian

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[140] Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, quoted in Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 333.

cricket closely mirrors the nation's growing confidence and capabilities; and viewing its projection to the rest of the world through this lens helps further explain the Indian puzzle.

B.   INTERNATIONAL PLAY AND POLITICS

1.   India Tours Australia, West Indies Tours India—1947-48

Immediately after independence, India sought matches with other members of current or former British colonies that made up the cricket Test playing nations, known as the "Commonwealth of Cricket."[141] Between 1947 and 1956 India played Tests against Australia, the West Indies, England, Pakistan, and New Zealand. As early as 1949 an Indian newspaper concluded that cricket was the "invisible cord" that bound the Commonwealth countries together.[142]

Matches against England and Pakistan have always held a special place for India's cricketing aficionados, but competition between other less-contentious rivals allowed India to test its mettle and diversify its national attention. Without international cricket competition there would be much less interaction between India and places like New Zealand, Zimbabwe, or the West Indies. Cricket historian Mihir Bose notes that "Indians have a constant need to measure themselves against foreign opposition. The long period of colonial rule had left them with little confidence in their own ability, (or) their own assessment."[143] India's first international Test as an independent nation, and first Test ever against a team other than England, came in the months following independence with a tour to Donald Bradman's Australia.

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[141] The ten full members of the International Cricket Council are listed, along with their year of entry: England (1909), Australia (1909), South Africa (1909), India (1926), New Zealand (1926), West Indies (1926), Pakistan (1953), Sri Lanka (1965), Bangladesh (1977), Zimbabwe (1981). Only full member nations are qualified for Test status. ICC Cricket, http://icc-cricket.yahoo.com/about-icc/rules-regulations.html (accessed December 2008).

[142] *Commonwealth Cricketers' Tour of India 1945-50: A Souvenir* (Madras: Sport and Pastime, 1949.) quoted in, Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 323.

[143] Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 147.

The Australian tour did little to build India's overall cricketing confidence as it ran head-first into the buzz saw of Don Bradman's bat. The powerful and charismatic Aussie is remembered by many as the greatest batsman in history,[144] and some say his career Test average of 99.94 runs is the greatest individual achievement in any major sport.[145] During the tour Bradman's side thrashed India, winning four of five Tests, with one draw. Bradman personally scored 588 runs in the Tests, joining the elite club of double-century scorers in the fourth Test.[146]

Getting little support from the rest of his side, India's Vijay Samuel Hazare, a Roman Catholic from Maharashtra, equaled Bradman's feat by scoring a double-century of his own with 261 runs in the same match. Hazare joined Bradman in the record books as two of only seven who had scored 200 plus runs in a single Test. Hazare's bat garnered him the praise of Bradman, his team, and even Australia's Prime Minister, Robert Menzies; however, it was little consolation to an otherwise dismal showing.[147]

Further contributing to India's troubles was the loss of some of its best players to Pakistan. Fazal Mahmood, Abdul Hafeez Kardar, Amir Elahi, and Gul Mohomed are among the 15 players in history who have represented more than one nation in international cricket.[148] These men became members of Pakistan's cricket team in 1947 as a result of the partition. India left Australia realizing it needed to make up for losing players to Pakistan, especially the fast bowler, Fazal Mahmood, and determined to have a better show against the West Indies who were scheduled to come to India the following year.

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[144] Cricket Info, http://content-aus.cricinfo.com/australia/content/player/4188.html (accessed December 2008).

[145] Bradman's record average still stands comfortably, with the next best of South Africa's Graeme Pollock trailing far behind at only 60.97 runs per innings. Brett Hutchins, *Don Bradman: Challenging the Myth* (Cambridge University Press: 2002), 21.

[146]India in Australia 1947/48 at Cricket Next, http://cricketnext.in.com/stats1/series/SW5kaWEgaW4g QXVzdHJhb GlhIDE5NDcvNDg=-1947/48 (accessed December 2008.)

[147] Cricket Info, http://content-www.cricinfo.com/ci/content/player/29290.html (accessed December 2008).

[148] Scyld Berry, ed. *Wisden Cricketers' Almanack 2008*, (Suffolk: John Wisden & Co. Ltd., 2008), 240. And Fazal Mahmood is listed in, Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 157.

India's first Test win continued to elude them after their series at home against the West Indies in 1948-1949. This five Test series marked the first Test hosted by independent India, and Nehru insisted the match be played in the capital city of Delhi. Nehru actively encouraged the development of Indian cricket and even captained the annual Parliamentary Match played between the Lower and Upper houses. Nehru, himself a sportsman and cricketer, saw benefits in promoting the sport during his 17 years as Prime Minister.[149] Subsequent political leaders throughout India followed Nehru's lead. Since then, political leaders from all over India have exaggerated their cricket credentials, latching on to winning players, and shamelessly pandering to cricketing crowds for political gain.
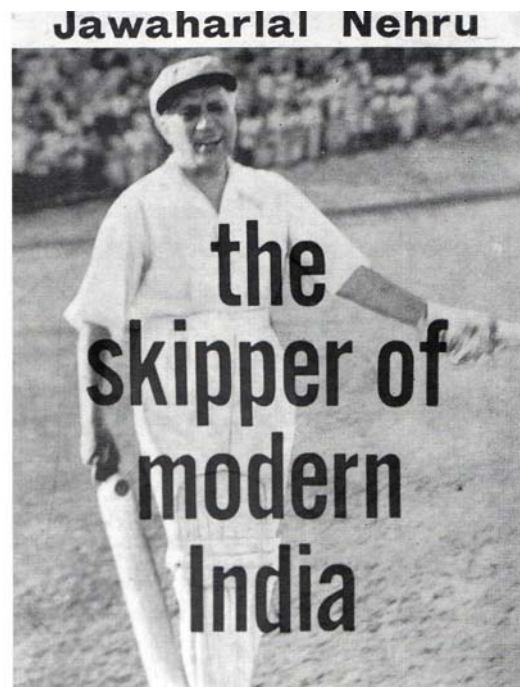
Figure 13.   Prime Minister Nehru heading out to bat. (From: Guha, A Corner of a Foreign Field)[150]

India did come close to beating the West Indies in one of the Tests, but ultimately came up short, drawing four of the five matches, with one outright loss. In the next few

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[149] Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 165.

[150] This is a picture from a brochure during the 1975-77 Emergency. The image was used by the administration of Nehru's daughter, Indira, to invoke feelings of stability and loyalty during Indian democracy's most fragile period. Reprinted in, Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 352.

years India did not play against other national teams; however, the Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) did arrange for two tours of mixed teams made of international professionals to visit India in hopes of further developing its national team. In 1952 India's long-awaited first Test victory finally came, and did so against its oldest rival.

2. England and India Exchange Tours in 1952

In anticipation of hosting England in 1952, the standout performer of the 1947 Australian tour, Vijay Hazare, was elected team captain. Hazare had proven himself to be a good all-around player, powerful with the bat, yet also deft in the field and an effective bowler. His short reign as captain would deliver India its first Test win; however, his leadership style ultimately proved uninspiring and overly cautious.

The home series against England involved five Tests played in Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur, and Madras. On February 10, 1952, led by Hazare's bat, India finally posted its first Test victory in the last Test in Madras. Hazare was helped by the spin bowler, Vinoo Mankad, who took 12 English wickets, allowing only 108 runs.[151] This first Test victory for India came in its 25th attempt, and took them 20 years of play dating back to 1932. Unfortunately for India, this victory proved fleeting. India toured England later that year, losing three out of four (with one match drawn). It would be another nine years before India would beat England again, amassing a dubious record of: 0 wins, 8 losses, and 4 draws in the next 12 Tests with their "paternal" arch rival.

Hazare, along with many other Indian captains over the years, stands accused by historians of lacking a "killer instinct." It has been said Indian teams have often played not to lose, rather than going for the win.[152] Writing specifically on this subject, acclaimed Indian sociologist, Ashis Nandy commented on this condition which some say afflicts not only India, but Pakistan as well:

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[151] Cricket Info, http://content-usa.cricinfo.com/india/content/player/30939.html (accessed December 2008).

[152] Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 185.

Indian and Pakistani commentators… expressed the fear that the talents (of their teams) would remain unrewarded because of the absence of the killer instinct. The basic assumption in such analyses is that it is the killer instinct which allows the white man to strut around the world stage so arrogantly and all such analyses end up with a strong plea for greater killer instinct in sub-continental sportsmen… The alleged absence of this instinct accounts for the humiliation of India in international sport and for that alleged special capacity of the Indians to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory. Especially so when competing against westerners.[153]

This conservatism likely contributed to many of India's matches ending in draws, especially in high-pressure contests. Figure 13 shows India's overall Test record against the nine other full members of the International Cricket Council (ICC) from 1932-2006. These figures support the assertion of conservative play in big matches, with a significant majority of India's matches against England, Pakistan, and the West Indies ending in draws.
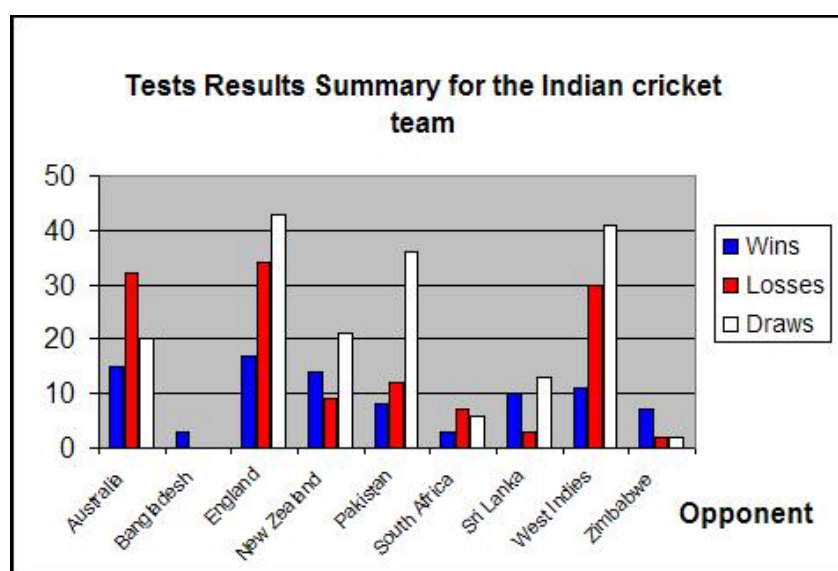
Figure 14.   A summary of India's Test Match results from 1932 to May 2006. (From: Cricket World 4 U)[154]

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[153] For an in-depth psychosocial analysis of this alleged phenomenon see chapter three (Victory, Defeat and the Future of the Savage) in Ashis Nandy, *The Tao of Cricket* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 90-122. The above quote came from pages 92-93.

[154] Cricket World 4 U, http://www.cricketworld4u.com/series/history/india-v-england.php (accessed December 2008).

3.   Pakistan Tours India - 1952

Throughout the last 54 years there have been legendary matches between India and Pakistan played in electrically charged venues around the globe. It has been said that Indo-Pak cricket is one of the biggest rivalries in all of sport.[155] In times of peace, the high drama is enjoyed at stadiums of both countries. While in times of war or political tension, Pakistani and Indian cricketers have escaped the turmoil at home to play against each other in far away venues like Sharjah, England, and even Canada. When political tensions reached the boiling point leaders from both nations have resorted to cricket boycotts. Sensing opportunity, sporting promoters have invited the teams to distant neutral grounds, taking huge gate receipts in the process. In the absence of an entrepreneurial sheik, or an opportunistic capitalist, the players would either have to wait for political tensions to settle, or hope their two sides might end up facing each other in the Cricket World Cup tournament.

The deep-seeded emotion of the "sibling rivalry" between Indian and Pakistani cricket traces its roots to the communal matches between Muslims and Hindus in Bombay's popular tournaments in the early 1900s.[156] Although the Indian national team has always been religiously integrated, as shown in Chapter IV (13% of the teams players, and 6 of 29 captains, have been Indo-Muslim), elements of communal tension between the predominately Hindu nation of India and the Islamic republic of Pakistan have always simmered when the two teams faced each other. If not between the cricket players themselves, tensions have certainly existed throughout a large portion of the spectators, as well as other members of society. Most instances of ugliness or hyper-nationalism surrounding Indo-Pak cricket matches have occurred off the field, and often at the hands of political chauvinists or thugs who had very little appreciation for the game.

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[155] "Indo-Pak cricket equivalent to 10 Ashes," *expressindia.com*, August 6, 2007, http://www.expressindia.com/news/fullstory .php?newsid=90499 (accessed December 2008).

[156] Guha's chapter 15 on the Indian-Pakistan cricket history is titled "Sibling Rivalry." See, Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 369.

The first Indo-Pak cricket matches took place in 1952, five years after independence. At the time, the wounds of partition still festered, especially in the divided regions of Punjab and Bengal. The first war over Kashmir had already been fought and Jinnah's untimely death only months after independence left a vacuum in the civilian leadership of Pakistan. However, captaining the Pakistani cricket team was an exceptionally talented leader, Abdul Hafeez Kadar.

The opening chapter in the Indo-Pak cricket saga began with a tour of India by the Pakistani team. The six Test matches of the series were held in Delhi, Lucknow, Nagpur, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. The differences in reception of the visiting side by the host cities, as told by Guha, indicate the disparate subcultures of these Indian cities. In Delhi, the nation's capital, the visitors were received as statesmen and warmly greeted by both India's President and Prime Minister. In Lucknow, an ancient Muslim capital, the Indo-Muslims welcomed their co-religionists from Pakistan as brothers. In Nagpur, the home of the Hindu fundamentalist Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, the Pakistani players were jeered and threatened. In Bombay, India's most cosmopolitan city, elite Pakistanis themselves made the trip from Karachi to cheer on their team, and the city's long-time cricket purists cheered good play on both sides. The match in Madras was called off due to badly needed rain, with the state's Chief Minister thanking the Pakistanis for auspiciously bringing the rain with them. Finally, in Calcutta, the capital of undivided Bengal, the President of the local Mohammedan Sporting Club welcomed the Pakistani players by saying he hoped "the day is not far off when through sports the relations between the two parts of the great country, once called India, will be as friendly and united in one voice as we find now during your welcome visit." This nostalgia was much to the chagrin of the nationalist-minded Pakistani captain who replied that through sports "separate" countries could build trust, and extended an invitation to the Indian team to come visit Pakistan.[157]

The Pakistani team was playing its first Test cricket in this series. Pakistan's first and only win in the series came in Lucknow after losing the first match in Delhi. By

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[157] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 372-479.

winning a Test match in the first series they had ever played, Pakistan instantly reached a milestone that took India 20 years to accomplish. Yet, by winning the first and third matches, and drawing the last two, India also crossed a major threshold by winning its first-ever Test series. Three years later the Indian team took Kadar up on his offer, and traveled to Pakistan as guests for the first Test series held in that country. In the meantime, the Pakistani cricket team traveled to England in 1954 and split a Test series there, earning them another Test victory in only their second series. By comparison, India wouldn't beat England at home until 1971.

4.   India Tours Pakistan—1955

In 1955, Pakistan hosted the Indian team for a five match series. The first Test was held in the East Pakistani city of Dacca, with the rest taking place in the Western cities of Bahwalpur, Lahore, Peshawar, and Karachi. The pomp and circumstance of this reciprocal tour closely resembled the Pakistani tour of India in 1952. Pakistan's Prime Minister, Muhammad Ali, welcomed the Indian team in the second match, and the Indian team visited the mausoleum of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in Karachi. For the Lahore Test, the border check-points were opened up allowing 10,000 Indians to cross over to attend the match.[158] The President of India's cricket board, the Maharajkumar of Vizianagaram, commented on the positive effects during the cricket tour, "The highest in the Pakistan Government never thought of Kashmir, the evacuee property, the canal waters, the United Nations or the Security Council. It was good clean sport and nothing else."[159]

The final Test in Karachi was attended by 50,000 in the stadium, with thousands more on the hills outside able to look in. The tour of their South Asian neighbor increased the feelings of good-will with the Pakistani fans as much as the previous exchange pleased the Indians. However, the cricket itself was less than thrilling, with all five matches ending in draws.

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[158] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 381-389.

[159] Clipping in K. V. Gopalaratnam Collection, Sports Authority of India, New Dehli, quoted in, Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 386.

5.   Pakistan Tours India 1960-61—Then a 17 Year Drought

In 1960, the Pakistani team returned to India for five more Tests, and nine unofficial matches. Amazingly, all 14 ended in draws as well, making it 21 total matches in a row between the two countries without a decision. Unfortunately, there were other aspects of South Asia which were equally undetermined, and vastly more serious looming on the horizon. The delay tactics used in the stalemates of Indo-Pak cricket proved far more cordial than the violence brought on over disputed territory in Kashmir, or the troubles fomenting in Pakistan's Eastern wing. However, before tensions boiled over on its borders with Pakistan, India would find itself in an armed conflict with one of its few non-cricket-playing neighbors.

In 1962, India fought a border war with China. The conflict was over a disputed region of the Himalayan border in Arunachal Pradesh, known in China as South Tibet. The embarrassing route at the hands of the Chinese served as a wakeup call to Nehru and the Indian Army. India's civilian and military leadership took sweeping measures to guard against a repeat performance. Three years later Nehru's successor, and India's second Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, and the Indian Army got their opportunity for vindication. This time the conflict was centered along the Indo-Pak border and in Kashmir.

By the mid 1960s, Pakistan's Army was firmly in control of the country's affairs under the hand of General Ayub Khan, who came to power in a bloodless coup in 1958. From Pakistan's point of view, Kashmir remained vital to its national interest, and with India rebuilding its military after the Sino-Indian war Pakistan felt compelled to prevent Kashmir's integration into India.[160] The fundamental problem of Kashmir was expressed in a statement by then foreign minister, Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto, "If a Muslim majority can remain a part of India, then the raison d'être of Pakistan collapses…   Pakistan is incomplete without Jammu and Kashmir both territorially and ideologically."[161]

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[160] Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions Since 1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 31-32.

[161] Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto, *The Myth of Independence* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 6.

The wars over Kashmir in 1947 and 1965 both ended in essential stalemate, with both sides dissatisfied, but unwilling and/or unable to fight a total war. The 1971 war in East Pakistan gave birth to the new South Asian nation of Bangladesh, which incidentally became the ninth Test cricket nation in 1977. These wars and the deteriorating cultural relations between India and Pakistan led to a 17 year stoppage in play between the national cricket teams of the two countries.

By the late 1970s, the pains of war, and Pakistan's trauma of losing a significant portion of its country (East Pakistan became the independent nation of Bangladesh in 1971), had subsided enough to allow cricket play once again. In 1978 India was warmly welcomed to Pakistan, and the two nations played regularly throughout the 1980s. During the long interruption of play with Pakistan the Indian cricket team sought to settle another score with their other major rival.

6.   India Beats England at The Oval—1971

In 1971, India went to England for a three match Test series. Having drawn the first two, the final match at The Oval would now determine the outcome of the series. To this point, the Indian team had yet to win a match against England at home, never mind a series. For its part, England was in prime form. They had not lost a match to any team in their last 26 tries, and they had recently defeated the powerhouses of Australia and the West Indies. Going into the second innings of the last match against India, England had a comfortable 71 run lead.

The Indian side also came into the match with more confidence than usual. They had just come from the West Indies, where they had won their first match and series in the Caribbean. Having drawn the first two against England, India's captain, A. L. Wadekar, faced the choice of playing for a tie, or taking some risks and going for a win. Perhaps sensing a window of opportunity, and desperately needing some wickets, the Indian skipper put in the unpredictable leg-spinner, B.S. Chandrasekhar.

Chandrasekhar did not disappoint, within ten minutes he had taken the first three English wickets. He finished the innings with six wickets, and allowed only 38 runs. Chandrasekhar's fantastic bowling was helped by solid Indian fielding, which left India a

target of 173 runs to chase in their last innings at bat. Consecutive road victories against the West Indies and England were tantalizingly within India's grasp.

On the last day of the match India simply needed a decent showing at bat to win the series. They had lost two wickets in their half day at bat the previous day and now needed 97 runs with eight wickets in hand. Their best batsman, S. M. Gavaskar, had already fallen the day before, victim of a leg-before-wicket. Then, to begin the final day, Wadekar was run out at the stumps by some sharp English fielding before India could add any runs to the score. What should have been an easy task began to cause worry of collapse on the Indian side.[162]

Indian batsmen continued to plug away, led by the Parsee, Farokh M. Engineer and the Hyderabadi Muslim, Syed Abid Ali. This partnership held together until the end, with Abid Ali scoring the final four runs. Along with the bowling heroics of Chandrasekhar and other Hindu players like Solkar, the Indian win proved to be a truly unified team triumph. For his individual effort Chandrasekhar earned the Wisden "Cricketer of the Year" award in 1972, as well as the Wisden "Best Bowling Performance of the Century," in 2002, for his performance in the 1971 Test.[163]

This new generation of Indian cricketers, which had come of age in independent India, broke away from the stigmas attached to their predecessors. India had joined the elite tier of cricket by beating England at their best, and on their home turf. Both Pakistan and New Zealand would wait another decade before winning their first Test series against an English team at home. This symbolic victory was cherished throughout India, and to honor the players India's Prime Minister had the team's plane diverted from Bombay to New Delhi, so Mrs. Gandhi could congratulate them in person.[164]

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[162] Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 1-15.

[163] G. Viswanath, "This is my finest hour: Kapil Dev," Sports Star, Vol. 25, No. 31, August 4, 2002, http://www.hinduonnet.com/tss/tss2531/25310120.htm (accessed December 2008).

[164] Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 1-15.

7.   India Wins World Cup - 1983

To this point, the discussion of India's national team has focused on Test matches. India's next significant cricketing feat came via the new one day international (ODI) format, first introduced in 1971. While two innings Test matches unfold over five days, one-day tournaments (as the name suggests) finish in a single day. Besides drastically shortening the time of play, the possibility of drawn matches also becomes significantly reduced in ODI play. The only way to tie an ODI is to have both teams end with exactly the same score, unlike Test cricket, which ends in a draw if play is not complete in the allotted time, even if one team is ahead by hundreds of runs. The strategies involved for ODI success typically include more aggressive batting since the number of overs is limited. The batting team posts its final score when its overs are exhausted, regardless of how many wickets it might have left.

Like all cricketing countries, India's ODI team generally consists of the same players who play in its Tests. ODIs and Tests are commonly mixed into an international tour that can last a number of weeks. India began playing ODIs in 1974, and had its first ODI victory in the 1975 Cricket World Cup (CWC) against East Africa.[165] India's ODI teams were not strong initially, largely due to the defensive nature of its Test-minded batsmen. Although they were in the top tier of Test teams at the time, India failed to qualify for the second round of the first two CWCs.

In 1983, India shocked the cricket world by winning the third CWC, defeating Zimbabwe, Australia, England, and two-time undefeated ODI world champion West Indies team in the final. The final match was played at Lord's stadium in England, and despite posting a relatively modest target of 183, Indian bowlers managed to mystify West Indies batsmen, getting them all-out for 140 and pulling off one of the greatest upsets in cricket history.[166]

With the CWC, win one-day cricket in India became an overnight sensation. However, even while basking in the glow of India's first international sporting

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[165] The Cricket World Cup is the premier ODI tournament held quadrennially.

[166] Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 332.

championship in 27 years, the pressures of increased expectation began to widen rifts already present within the team.[167] Two of India's premier players at the time, Sunil Gavaskar and Kapil Dev, got along terribly. The toxic relationship between the two was widely covered in the Indian cricket media at the time, making matters worse. The reported tension was exacerbated by personality conflict as well as communication difficulties. Gavaskar and Kapil conversed only in English since they did not understand the each other's mother tongue.[168]

Their personal differences represented a broader schism throughout the team; one not between religious communities as is so often the case in India, but rather along regional lines. Apparently the selection committee representing the five regional zones, who had done such an amazing job of keeping the Team communally balanced, had opened themselves to criticisms of regional bias instead. Gavaskar represented the traditional cricketing powerhouse of Bombay, whereas Kapil had become the informal leader of a growing nucleus of players from north India. Both men took turns leading the Indian team as captain, and each enjoyed amazing individual achievements, but their inability to solve their differences helped prevent India from fully capitalizing on its 1983 CWC success.[169]

8.   India Wins Cricket World Championship—1985

Despite the personality clash between Gavaskar and Kapil, India went on to win other lesser ODI tournaments including the 1985 Benson and Hedges World Championship Cup in Australia beating Pakistan twice, once in the first round, then again for the final. In this match the Indian side again set a very low target, yet their characteristically strong bowling came through once more, led by Kapil Dev this time, holding off the Pakistan team to win the trophy. On this the captain wrote in his

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[167] A string of six consecutive Olympic gold medals for the Indian men's field hockey team was capped in 1956..

[168] Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 330-340.

[169] Sunil Gavaskar went on to break Don Bradman's record of 29 Test centuries, a record which is currently held by India's Sachin Tendulkar with 41. Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 330-340.

autobiography, "that we won handsomely by 38 runs after being shot out for 125 speaks of the killer instinct in the Indian cricketers that seemed to be non-existent in the past." Historian Mihir Bose adds, "Indians had long searched for this much envied American and Australian quality and now seemed to find it in one-day cricket."[170]

After winning the CWC in 1983, India and Pakistan went on to co-host the first CWC played outside of England. The countries split the earlier rounds, with the semi-finals held in Lahore and Bombay, and the finals in Calcutta. After a painful one run loss, India made its way through to the semi-finals against England in Bombay. Here both Gavaskar and Kapil failed to find their form, and India's dreams of a World Cup repeat at home were dashed. The Calcutta crowd adopted the Australian side as their own in the final against England, and before a packed house the Aussies did not disappoint. The organization and hospitality of the Indians and Pakistanis prompted Wisden to write, "The forth World Cup was more widely watched, more closely fought and more colorful than any of its predecessors held in England."[171]

9.   Brasstacks and Zia's Cricket Diplomacy 1987

South Asian cricket has carried a political edge to it ever since the Parsees employed a cricket boycott against the British as part of their overall protest against a lack of suitable playing space.[172]   Since then, cricket has helped inspire caste and communal equality, leaders of the independence movement, the father of India's constitution, and promoted notions of national pride, prestige, and even superiority. In early 1987, cricket's political tradition continued with steps taken by Pakistan's third military dictator, Mohammad Zia ul-Haq. Zia used the game to help cool tensions, with his tactics even taking on a name—Cricket Diplomacy.[173]

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[170] Quoting Kapil Dev, and then Mihir Bose in, Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 347-348.

[171] Quoting Wisden, Mihir Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1990), 347-348.

[172] See Chapter III of this thesis.

[173] Richard M. Weintraub, "Pakistan's Zia Visits India for 'Cricket Diplomacy,'" *The Washington Post*, 22 Feb 1987, sec. A, 23.

After the 1965 war in Kashmir and the 1971 war in East Pakistan, a period of relative calm set in between India and its neighbor. However, Pakistan's attention began to be pulled in numerous directions starting in 1979 when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan on its northwest border. Then, in 1984, Indo-Pak relations took a turn for the worse as a result of a poorly demarcated section of the Cease-Fire Line north of Kashmir known as the Siachen Glacier. Soon thereafter both countries deployed troops to this most inhospitable terrain. Also during this time India was in the midst of an indigenous Sikh insurgency which allegedly received covert Pakistani support.[174]

In late 1986, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi presided over India's largest military exercise to that point, code-named "Brasstacks."[175] This large deployment of armored troops conducted maneuvers on the Indo-Pak border, much to the alarm of Islamabad. In response to India, Pakistan conducted their own military exercises and then left their troops forward deployed along the border in Punjab and Kashmir. By January of 1987 the tension had built to crisis level. Things escalated further as India shifted its forward deployed troops towards Kashmir as well, and the two states seemed poised for their next armed conflict. With a flurry of diplomatic activity cooler heads on both sides managed to take control of the situation, and conflict was averted. By early February a series of secretary-level talks had diffused the crisis, and a list of confidence and security building measures were proposed.[176]

During these military exercises and increased political tensions Pakistan's cricket team had been making preparations for an Indian invasion of their own; however, their arrival was actually welcomed and expected by the Indian national team. With the cricket series scheduled to begin in mid-February, Pakistan's leader took advantage of a

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[174] Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions Since 1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 83-84.

[175] Rajiv had succeeded his mother, who had been assassinated in 1984 by her own Sikh bodyguards.

[176] Ganguly's book on the history of Indo-Pak conflict describes the official diplomatic meetings during this crisis at some length, but no mention of Zia's trip to India for the cricket match is made. This seems a clear example of the tendency discussed in Chapter I regarding the failure of "serious scholarship" to focus attention or attach significance to the societal impact of sports. Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions Since 1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 83-84.

diplomatic opportunity. General Zia surprised Indian officials when he announced, in the middle of the crisis, his intention to attend an upcoming Indo-Pak cricket match in Jaipur.[177]

Zia's delegation arrived in New Delhi only one day after the two nations began their agreed-upon pullback from the border. Rajiv Gandhi greeted Zia at the airport, and the two men had dinner together before heading off to Jaipur for the match the next day. At the stadium Zia was seen by millions of Indians watching the match on national television, and reports of him having lunch with the Indian players were widely covered in the press.[178] Zia, himself a cricketer as a college student in New Delhi before partition, was keenly aware of cricket's political significance, and was quoted as saying, "My sole purpose was to come and watch good cricket and in the process meet with the prime minister and see how we could solve our problems."[179]

In addition to the border tensions and high level delegations that set the background for this match, other subtleties were also on display in Jaipur that day. The composition of India's team that played in front of Zia was characteristically integrated. Two of its best players were a Sikh and a Christian, while its star performer of the day was the Indo-Muslim, Mohammed Azaruddin, who led his team by batting for a century against Pakistan's all-Muslim side. Zia acknowledged Azaruddin's play, but dodged the journalistic trap set for him, carefully avoiding religious identifiers, "He is a good *Indian* player in India," Zia said.[180]

### 10.	Indo-Pak Cricket during the 1990s

Eleven years after Zia's cricket diplomacy in Jaipur both India and Pakistan tested nuclear weapons in 1998. During that time Indo-Pak general relations and cricket had run hot and cold, shaped by both domestic and external factors. General Zia's C-130

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[177] Rone Tempest, "War Talk Evaporates on First Pitch—Zia's Cricket Diplomacy Gets High Score in India," *Los Angeles Times*, 23 February 1987, 1.

[178] Ibid.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Ibid.

mysteriously exploded in flight in 1989, creating space for another flirtation with civilian leadership in Pakistan. Soon thereafter, victorious Mujahideen (having run the Soviets out of Afghanistan), supported by the Pakistani state, now shifted their tactics towards Kashmir. As a result, the early 1990s saw an increase rhetoric coupled with a rising insurgency in the Vale of Kashmir.[181]

Then, in 1992, a growing Hindu fundamentalist movement sparked new communal conflict on a domestic level between Hindus and Muslims inside India when right-wingers destroyed the Babri mosque in Ayodhya. The mosque's demolition provoked communal riots in Bombay, and the entire issue continued to incite violence for years to come.

Despite all of these stressors, Indo-Pak cricket play carried on. Head-to-head matches were held in Sharjah and a "Friendship Series" in Toronto Canada, to the delight of a large South Asian diaspora. They also frequently met in various rounds of the CWC tournament. In 1992, India beat Pakistan in an early round, but then Pakistan went on to win its first ODI World Cup.

a. 1996 World Cup

In 1996, India and Pakistan combined with Sri Lanka to host the CWC in South Asia once again. In a unique twist of events, a Goodwill Match was arranged in support of Sri Lanka. A few teams in the tournament had opted to concede their matches on the island citing terrorist threats in Colombo. To show their South Asian solidarity a combined Indo-Pak team came together to play a special match against the Sri Lankan side to demonstrate that the island was safe for cricket. The Indo-Pak team was captained by India's Mohammed Azharuddin, and managed by Pakistan's Intikhab Alam.[182] A grateful Sri Lankan nation welcomed their South Asian brethren and the Indo-Pak sportsmen with banners like: "WE SALUTE YOUR MAGNIFICENT GESTURE OF SOLIDARITY";

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[181] For a concise discussion of the 1990 Kashmir insurgency see the section titled, Kashmir Flares Again, in Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions Since 1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 88-95.

[182] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 400-401.

"SRI LANKA WELCOMES THE GOLDEN SONS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN"; "THANKS, INDIA AND PAKISTAN, FOR COMING TO SRI LANKA TO KEEP SOUTH ASIAN DIGNITY".[183]

If this illustrates the good that can come from cricket, then the rest of the 1996 tournament displayed some of the bad and the ugly. After Pakistan lost to India in the quarter-finals in Bangalore, a Pakistani college student shot up his television with an AK-47 before turning it on himself. Then, upon arriving home, Pakistan's captain, Wasim Akram, faced death threats from disenchanted fans.[184] Indian fans were no better, and when defeat to Sri Lanka seemed imminent in the semi-finals in Calcutta, Indian fans turned on the home team, throwing bottles and vandalizing the stadium to the point where the match was called off. The idiom, "That's not cricket!" certainly applied, as this was the first World Cup match ever disturbed by spectator violence.[185]

b. *Pakistan Tours India - 1998*

After the nuclear tests in 1998, tensions in South Asia escalated once again. This time the rest of the world also took notice since the stakes of conflict in the region had increased exponentially. The following spring Pakistan was scheduled to tour India to play three Tests. With the atmosphere more charged than usual, Hindu fundamentalists, led by Bal Thackeray's Shiv Sena, protested Pakistan's planned tour. Sena thugs, perhaps feeling sure of themselves with the BJP in power, attacked a Cricket Board office in Bombay, dug up the cricket pitch in Delhi's Ferozeshah Kolta stadium, and even threatened to release live snakes into the crowds.[186]

Despite the intimidation, the matches went ahead as scheduled. Pakistan won the first match in Madras, and the typically genteel crowd cheered the winning side generously. The second match was played in Delhi, and with heavy security no major

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[183] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 401.

[184] Ibid., 403.

[185] Ibid., 404.

[186] The pitch digging became a Shiv Sena trademark prior to Pakistani visits to India, see "Sena men spoil Agra pitch ahead of Indo-Pak match," December 18, 2003, Express India, http://www.expressindia.com/news/ fullstory.php?newsid=26932, (accessed December 2008).

incidents took place; of course it helped that India won. The final match moved to Calcutta, were all civility broke down in the stands when India's brightest star, Sachin Tendulkar, was called out on a close play while trying to get back to the crease. Calcutta's unruly fans were finally calmed down, and play continued, but when the local hero, Saurav Ganguly, also lost his wicket the crowd of 100,000 came unglued once again. As a result, the match was delayed for an hour while the police systematically removed all the fans from the stadium before resuming play. Calcutta fans had achieved yet another dubious first in cricket spectator history.[187]

c. Cricket and Kargil - 1999

In 1999, the Kargil conflict began, abruptly bringing to an end a brief period of goodwill forged in Lahore during a meeting between Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and his Pakistani counterpart, Muhammed Nawaz Sharif. While dialogue broke down and Kargil spiraled into armed conflict, the 1999 Cricket World Cup was underway in England.

As fate would have it, India and Pakistan met each other in the third round of the tournament in a match held in Manchester. Quoted widely throughout this study, Ramachandra Guha was in attendance at the match. He writes, "South Asians were volatile people, living in volatile times. Cricket contests between India and Pakistan were always steeped in nationalist passion. This was the World Cup, with a war in the background."[188] The Indian side, led once again by their captain, Azharuddin, beat Pakistan by 47 runs. There were no protests or unruly crowds in England, and play never was interrupted, even if most of the fans who attended the match were reported to be of South Asian descent.[189]

After the 1999 CWC, the Indian government returned to a policy of cricket boycott against bilateral matches with Pakistan. They would continue to allow

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[187] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 413.

[188] Ibid., 419.

[189] Ibid.

India to play Pakistan in multi-national tournaments, but no more cross-border visits. Essentially conceding that cricket was in a league of its own, since football and table tennis matches were not prohibited, the Indian Sports Minister is quoted as saying, "We see cricket not as just a game, but as a symbol of the nation's sentiments."[190] Based on what the minister said, one could conclude that cricket was *too important* to the nation to risk a loss, whereas losses in football or tennis could be absorbed.

11. Cricket Diplomacy Part II - 2005

In 2005, Pakistan's latest military dictator, President General Pervez Musharraf, followed in Zia's footsteps and made his way to India to take in some cricket. Musharraf, like Zia, is a sporting man and also hails from India's capital city. His homecoming of sorts in 2005 was accompanied by touching gestures from Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, who presented the General with documents believed to be Musharraf's birth-certificate, and he also presented him with a painting of his Delhi childhood home.[191]

The official point of the visit was to address the latest negative trajectory in the relations between the two nations. This downward slide occurred as a result of a series of incidents, including a terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament in December, 2001, and a subsequent military build-up and standoff along the Indo-Pak border.

Again, under the guise of cricket, the leaders of India and Pakistan held discussions on the promotion of tourism, cross-border bus services, environmental issues, a potential gas pipeline project, and reducing the military presence in Siachen Glacier and Kashmir, although no progress was made toward a final solution on the issue of Kashmir itself. A joint statement released at the end of the second round of Cricket Diplomacy read, "The two leaders are determined that the peace process is now irreversible."[192]

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[190] Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 431.

[191] Somini Sengupta, "Cricket Match Ends With Hope for South Asia," *The New York Times*, 18 April, 2005, sec. A, 6.

[192] "Cricket Diplomacy," *Beijing Review*, 28 April 2005, Vol. 48, Iss. 17, 3.

Perhaps a positive, if not somewhat generic, consolation for die-hard Indian cricket fans, who watched their side lose the final match attended by Musharraf and Singh by 159 runs, losing the series.

C.   SUMMARY

This chapter chronologically detailed some of the highlights of Indian cricket since becoming an independent nation in 1947. It demonstrated cricket's central role as an expression of, and vehicle for, a growing sense of international pride and prestige. India's foreign relations with the other members of the Commonwealth of Cricket enjoy a history of repetitive interaction absent in relations with non-cricket playing nations, including the U.S.

India currently ranks 3rd in the 2008 ICC One Day Internationals (ODI) ratings, 2nd in the ICC Test standings, and are the world's reining champs of the inaugural World Twenty20 tournament held for the first time in 2007.[193] These three variants of the game (Test, ODI, and Twenty20) form the body of today's international cricket competition.

This strong showing throughout the spectrum of cricket is a fairly new Indian phenomenon. Historically, the team has been less than spectacular winning just under 23% of the 423 Tests it had played between 1932 and 2008.[194] After getting off to a slow start India emerged into the top tier of cricket in 1971, beating England at home, and in 1983 by winning the ODI Cricket World Cup. Matches with Pakistan have always stirred emotions of nationalism, and the highs and lows of South Asian cricket haven't always been in synch with political tensions. India's recent success in the Twenty20 format has left its fans craving the faster and more exciting play. As long as their team stays on top of the sport's new variant India's support for the format is likely to continue to grow.

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[193] Australia holds the top spot in the first two categories and it has been the dominant team in international play over the last few years, winning the last three ODI World Cups in 1999, 2003 and 2007. In the most recent Test series between India and Australia held in November 2008, India swept the Aussies, 2-0 in a four match series. Cricket Info, http://stats.cricinfo.com /ci/engine/records/index.html ?class=6, (accessed November 2008).

[194] Data includes all Test matches through October 2008.

Despite India's good showings of late, fans of the team and citizens of India have had little to cheer about over the years. The infrequent international glory brought by sporadic cricket victories has been savored at the time, yet with each came even higher expectations. India's cricket development was slow going, and gains it made occurred at the expense of other sports which were not supported or developed. India hung its entire sporting hat on cricket; while its soccer team, for example, currently ranks 144th in the world, just behind Vanuatu, the tiny island nation with a population of 216,000.[195] In a 2003 article highlighting India's dearth of Olympic glory, a writer from the ESPN Magazine said India is

> a place where numbers, and most everything else, can make your head spin. From 20 million or so temples to 3 million or so Hindu gods; from hundreds of millions of desperate poor people to hundreds of thousands of free ranging cows; whatever you count, big numbers abound. But there are much smaller numbers, more precise and no less bewildering, especially to sports fans. Olympic medals won by India: 16. Medals won at the 2000 games: 1.[196]

Cricket has emerged as arguably the *only* sport most Indians take seriously, perhaps as a counterbalance to India's poor showing in other international competition. Cricket currently stands alone as "King" of Indian sports and solely represents the sporting aspirations of the nation in an unprecedented manner. There are no equitable examples from other countries to compare with the breadth and depth of cricket's singular importance in India. On the surface, Brazil's frenzied passion for soccer might appear to be a likely challenger. However, with *only* 190 million people, and diversity in sports like volleyball, Jiu-Jitsu and Formula One, Brazil's sporting portfolio is far more diversified than India's. Furthermore, a deeper comparison between these two countries reveals Brazil's relative superiority in Olympic competition as compared to India.[197] As a result, all of Brazil's sporting success outside of its national soccer team, in essence,

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[195] Simon Kuper, "India: Sport's Final Frontier," Financial Times, London (UK): December 6, 2008, 21.

[196] Zev Burrow, "None in a Billion," The ESPN Magazine, 6, 26 (December 2003), 100.

[197] As a snapshot, Brazil won ten medals in the 2004 Summer Olympics compared to India's one silver medal.

weakens the bond between its national prestige and that one sport, soccer—especially for a country with less than one fifth of India's population.

In contrast, India's nation of over a billion people hangs their entire sporting hopes on their cricket team, and their cricket team only. In a remarkable essay about the pressures put upon India's contemporary premiere batsman, Sachin Tendulkar, Guha says India expects Tendulkar to single-handedly "make up for" the United Nations assessment "that India is the 146th most developed nation in the world," and that he carries on his shoulders "the intensely magnified and completely unfair expectations of a billion of his countrymen" every time he goes up to bat.[198]

The entwined web of South Asian cricket and geo-politics continues. The most recent chapter began in the wake of the November 2008 Mumbai attacks. Numerous international cricket tours were affected by the events in Mumbai, and the pending tour between India and Pakistan became a vehicle to debate the broader tensions between the two countries. At the time of the 2008 attacks in Mumbai, the English cricket team was touring India for a combined series of Test and ODIs. Play initially halted as the English team was evacuated from India, however England returned to great fanfare weeks later to complete the tour. Meanwhile, an Indian tour of Pakistan scheduled for January 2009 was hotly debated, and finally canceled by the Indian government. Numerous teams have refused to play in Pakistan over recent years citing security concerns. As of the writing of this thesis, Sri Lanka agreed to step-in for the India team, and traveled to Pakistan to play an international series, where their team was subsequently attacked in a brazen terrorist attack, which killed several police and the team's bus driver. Unfortunately, this latest attack will likely put a freeze on cricket in Pakistan for years to come.[199]

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[198] Ramachandra Guha, "If Mars Attacks," *Outlook India* (Jan 2004), http://www.outlookindia.com (accessed September 15, 2008).

[199] Jane Perlez and Waqar Gillani, "8 Die as Gunman in Pakistan Attack Cricket Team," *New York Times*, 3 March 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/04/world/asia/04pstan.html?_r=1&hp (accessed March 2009).

VI.   CONCLUSION

A.   LAGAAN- FIVE FINGERS FORM A FIST

In February of 2003, I arrived in New Delhi with my wife, Lisa. Our arrival marked the beginning of a two-year odyssey, which culminated in a successful tour as an exchange officer and instructor pilot with the Indian Air Force. To prepare for our posting to India, we read everything we could get our hands on and watched popular films like *Gandhi* and *Monsoon Wedding*. Included in our preliminary studies were the various British influences we could expect to encounter. While cricket had certainly been mentioned in our guide books, we knew nothing about the game, and had never seen it played. We arrived ill prepared for the storm we were about to encounter as we entered India on the eve of the 2003 Cricket World Cup.

While we were in Delhi, we had a few extra days to sightsee before we headed to Chennai to begin our assignment, so the U.S. embassy arranged for a guided tour of the Taj Mahal. We left for Agra early in the morning with our friendly tour guide, Mr. Anand. During the ride from Delhi to Agra we listened intently to Anand's narrative as he graciously welcomed us to India, and tantalized us about what the day's adventures had in store. His stories about the lineage of Mogul emperors and magical tales of fortresses, riches, wives, and lost love had us on the edges of our seats, but it was his answer to my question about an observation that morning that sparked my fascination with Indian cricket.

During a pause between lessons about 12th century rulers, I queried Anand about a group of barefoot boys we could see throwing a tennis ball at a group of sticks in a field near the road. I had been seeing similar scenes all morning. The group of boys looked like they were playing Wiffle Ball, but all the equipment and movements were slightly askew.[200] They used sticks for bats and an old dirty tennis ball. The batter kept his bat

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[200] Wiffle Ball is a common baseball inspired game for children, using a plastic bat and ball, and can be enjoyed by as few as two players. Instead of a catcher, American kids often employ a lawn chair, or something similar as a target to pitch to, much like the wickets of cricket.

very low and tapped the ground while waiting for the pitch, and the pitcher took a very long starting run, building up speed before delivering a bouncing ball toward the batter. Anand looked over at the boys and then looked back at me; with a beaming smile he emphatically said, "Since you are going to be in India for two years, you must learn cricket, because you can't understand India unless you know this game!" Anand then left his stories about Mogul emperors, and proceeded to tell us about a movie called *Lagaan*, and the tale of its hero, Karcha, an Untouchable disabled spin bowler. We learned about the history of British India, and Karcha's thrilling victory over the colonial rulers. Throughout the rest of our trip that day, I continued to see groups of boys of all ages throwing tennis balls at makeshift wickets. Wild chases for balls blasted off of proper bats, or makeshift sticks, ensued.

Figure 15.   Indian children playing cricket in a field, Taj Mahal in background. (From: AP Photo)[201]

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[201] AP Photo by Pawan Sharma, Daily Life, at www.daylife.com/photo/0555aaNgij89g, (accessed December 2008).

Lagaan, a nearly four-hour visual carnival, depicts all the main threads of my thesis, doing so through the medium of the other great pillar of Indian popular culture, cinema. Having shown a variety of material evidence supporting claims of cricket's increased popularity in, and correlations with, India's solidified segments of society, this final section now explores the confluence of two central pillars of Indian popular culture; cinema and cricket.

Set in 1893, the fictional story of Lagaan tells the tale of an idyllic Indian village at the end of the nineteenth century. The hero of the village, Bhuvan, brings all the diverse "fingers" of his village together to form a "fist" which will raise up against the sadistic British oppressor, embodied in the local cantonment commander, Captain Russell. Instead of outright revolt and violence against their master, the unified village led by Bhuvan, accepts Captain Russell's challenge to a cricket match. The stakes are three years worth of crippling land taxes imposed on the village by the British rulers. If Bhuvan's side wins the taxes will be wiped away. If they lose, the lagaan would triple.

Most of the movie's action surrounds Bhuvan's difficult task of bringing the diverse village together. The village team symbolically represents a vast spectrum of Indian society including: Guran the mystic, Ishmael the Muslim, Deva Singh Sodhi the Sikh, and Karcha the Untouchable with a malformed arm, who I considered a clever combination of the real life P. Baloo, and the Sri Lankan spin bowler, Muttiah Muralitharan. Bhuvan himself can be seen to symbolize the best of Gandhi and Nehru blended into one. I truly hope writer/director Ashutosh Gowariker honored the Parsee community's contribution to actual Indian cricket history; yet my untrained American eye is not able to detect the existence of a Parsee character in the movie. If he has not included a Parsee in the film I suppose he can be forgiven since few Parsees would find themselves living in rural villages, but they were the *first* Indians to play cricket, and their contribution should be acknowledged.

The entire second half of the film depicts the cricket match between the villagers, led by Bhuvan, who ultimately triumph over the British side. The team's unified effort is what pushes them towards victory and the theme of secular nationalism's virtues are both dramatic and blatant. With the British team left humiliated and beaten at their own game,

they end up disbanding their cantonment and leaving the village just as the monsoon arrives, promising bountiful harvests for the victorious villagers, without any lagaan to pay.

As *Lagaan* fades to black, the narrator's voice explains to the audience that, "Even after this historic victory… Bhuvan's name was lost somewhere in the pages of history."[202]   While the director of *Lagaan* had no intentions of creating a historically accurate account, there are numerous internet "historians" which claim varying degrees of truth to the story of *Lagaan*. Furthermore, I can vouch for the fact that there is at least one Taj Mahal tour guide out there telling unsuspecting Westerners that *Lagaan* portrays the *real story* of British India, and the history of cricket.

India's 2003 World Cup run included a win against Pakistan, which was the first cricket match I ever watched. At the time, I remember being shocked that a single sporting event could last more than 12 hours, only to be laughed at as I was then informed about the five-day Test matches that usually end in draws. India went on to lose in the finals against a very strong Australian team, and the excitement of these matches had me hooked, and very thankful for Mr. Anand's guidance.

During our two years living in Chennai and Hyderabad, and travelling throughout much of India in 2003 to 2005, I noted that interest in watching, talking, and playing cricket cut across all class and regional lines. Our experience of living on an Indian Air Force base exposed us to a very obvious class structure. The social distinctions between families of senior officers, junior officers, enlisted ranks, civilian defense employees, and their associated servant classes, were quite obvious. However, when it came to cricket, on a daily basis we were just as likely to see a Group Captain's young son bowling to his friends as we were to see a horde of shoeless servant's kids running between the wickets. However, after a certain age of about six or seven, I cannot say that I ever saw kids from these extremes of the spectrum playing together. Cricket does promote unification to a degree, but it is not a total panacea.

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[202] Gowariker, Ashtosh, Lagaan, 2001.

B. THESIS SUMMARY

India has overcome some of its biggest nation-state building challenges by inheriting functional institutions left from its colonial experience, embracing a secular and inclusive democracy, and delicately incorporating a non-divisive national language policy. These are three of the main reasons the Indian nation-state has solidified to the extent that it has, but there are other factors as well. The contributions of popular culture, and specifically sports, are often overlooked or trivialized. In this study I set out to answer the question, "What effects has cricket had on the solidification of the Indian nation-state?"

The answer to this question addressed three main contributions. These areas of focus demonstrated cricket's contributions to: (1) the nationalist movement, (2) the solidification of a diverse society, and (3) the expression of international diplomacy and prestige. This is by no means the final answer to the puzzle of Indian nationalism, but hopefully it is a small contribution. Furthermore, this study has not even fully explored the impacts of cricket in India. Throughout this research many other tangential questions emerged including: What influence does cricket have on domestic politics? Why haven't the Parsees had a cricketer join India's national team since 1961? What are the commercial and economic impacts of Indian sports? And, how has India transformed England's traditional game? These are just a few of the questions set aside in order to keep this project focused. Perhaps this study might inspire further research in these areas.

C. IMPLICATIONS

1. Domestic

This study has shown how cricket has helped Indians capitalize on their similarities and make the best of their differences. Cricket has been a common focal point which has drawn the attention of a wide ranging swath of Indian society. Cricket has proven to be an equalizer in an otherwise highly stratified society with the likes of B. Palwankar, minority religious groups, and women. While there have been aspects of

cricket which have exacerbated divisions in society, like communal-based teams; on the whole, this study finds that cricket has ultimately proved to be a net-plus as a contributing factor to India's overall secular consolidation.

2. Regional

Cricket's central role in the South Asian region is undeniable. However, the ultimate effect it has had remains an open question. There are numerous elements of both positive and negative cricket-related events which have occurred in the region. Cricket has served as a unifying force, an expression of solidarity, an opportunity to host international events, an excuse for diplomacy, a catalyst for hyper-nationalism, and even served as an outlet in-lieu of armed conflict. Yet, in each of these instances, whether good or bad, cricket has been a means of interaction for not only the elites in society, but for a much larger group as well. Cricket is important to South Asians. It is a national and regional unifier, especially in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka.

3. Broader Implications

This study is tangentially connected to one of the most pressing security problems of our time. Considering India contains the world's second largest Muslim population, answers to how India co-opts its diverse minority segments under its multi-cultural, secular, and inclusive nationalist umbrella will provide insights into possible solutions for countries facing similar challenges. The United States is currently involved in nation-building projects in Iraq and Afghanistan. These two cases certainly face some of the same challenges India has faced, and continues to address, in its national solidification. Learning from the Indian example might help develop deliberate strategies to facilitate the unification of these nation-states.

Projecting the concepts explored in this study toward the situation in present-day Iraq seems especially relevant. Like India, issues related to ethnic and religious diversity are among the many challenges in Iraq. After years of violence and tension, one of the memorable bright moments came in the summer of 2007 when the Iraqi national soccer team beat Saudi Arabia 1-0 in its first Asian Cup Championship match. Zuhair

Muhammed Jabir, an Iraqi policeman, captured the win's contribution to Iraqi pride and unity, "Now we are facing all this terror and violence—Iraq is bleeding. The win is a bandage healing those wounds. It's a lesson to politicians that Iraqis can be one. We are all supporting our team; none of us was saying this player is a Sunni, a Shiite, or Kurd."[203]

D.   LOOKING FORWARD

India's next biggest hurdle in terms of solidification maybe its competing visions of nationalism. Today in India there are at least two competing schools of thought. First, there is the inclusive secular ideology, which forms the foundation of the Nehru tradition. This vision dominated all others during the first decades of modern India, yet it has been arguably weakened as a result of Hindu nationalism over the last twenty years.[204]

From their perspective, Hindu nationalists see the modern state of India in primordial terms. They contend that the Indian nation is founded in a pan-Hindu polity, which includes multiple indigenous traditions including, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism. Generally speaking, Hindu nationalists seek to preserve the ancient Hindu heritage and oppose any preferential treatment for India's Muslims, Christians, or lower caste Hindus. Many scholars have warned that the secular fabric of Indian nationalism "is beginning to tear" as a result of the rise in Hindu nationalist ideology.[205] Huntington warned that the drumbeats for "the end of the Nehru legacy and the 'Hinduization' of India" are getting louder.[206] These warnings suggest that Hindu nationalists seeking political advantage are stoking the undercurrents of communal tensions throughout India.

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[203] "Soccer Title Brings Rare Gift: Iraq Unity," *The Seattle Times*, July 30, 2007, http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/nationworld/2003812430_soccer30.html (accessed January 2009).

[204] For an overview of Hindu nationalism, see, Bruce D. Graham, "The Challenge of Hindu Nationalism: The Bharatiya Janata Party in Contemporary Indian Politics", *Hull Papers in Politics* No. 40, Department of Politics & International Studies, Hull: University of Hull, October (1987).

[205] Smita Narula, "Overlooked Danger: The Security and Rights Implications of Hindu Nationalism in India" *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, Vol. 16, (2003), http://www.law.harvard.edu/students/orgs /hrj/iss16/narula.shtml (accessed July 27, 2008).

[206] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3, (Summer 1993): 26.

Ultimately, I agree with the choir of scholars who have recently warned that the rise in Hindu nationalism poses a threat to the unified vision of India.[207] Central to this study's findings is that India's collective common culture was primarily forged by a secular, inclusive approach to nation-state formation. Finding ways to protect the dominance of this version could prove essential in keeping the Hindu nationalists at bay. One of my key claims in this thesis says that cricket has predominately served as an expression of the secular, and not the Hindu-centric vision of the Indian nation-state. In the past cricket has served as a both a reflection of, and a vehicle for, the transition from an ancient Indian culture stratified along sharp communal divisions, into a pluralist society capable of broad unification and collaborative achievement. If cricket continues to be a central focus for most sectors of Indian society, I see no reason why its role as a secular unifier should end.

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[207] For discussions on the dangers of Hindu nationalism, see the following: Neil DeVotta, "Demography and Communalism in India," *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 56, no. 1, Fall (2002): 53-70; Smita Narula, "Overlooked Danger: The Security and Rights Implications of Hindu Nationalism in India," *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, no. 16 (Spring 2003), http://www.law.harvard.edu/students/orgs/hrj/iss16/narula.shtml (accessed August 6, 2008); Amrita Basu, "The Transformation of Hindu Nationalism? Toward a Reappraisal." in *Transforming India: Social and Political dynamics of Democracy,* eds. Francine R. Frankel, Zoya Hasan, Rajeev Bhargava and Balveer Arora, (New Delhi: OUP, 2000), 379-404.

APPENDIX

INDIA'S NATIONAL TEST CRICKET PLAYERS: 1932–2008

259	Total Test Players		
199	**Hindu (76.83%)**	**10**	**Parsee (3.86%)**
32	**Muslim (12.35%)**	**4**	**Christian (1.54%)**
13	**Sikh (5.01%)**	**1**	**Jain (.38%)**

Names with shaded background indicated Test captain.

Players listed by date of Test debut.

Name	Religion	Date, Place of Birth	Test Debut
Ladhabhai Nakum Amar Singh	Hindu	1910, Rajkot, Gujarat	1932
Sorabji Hormasji Munchersha Colah	Parsee	1902, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1932
Mohammad Jahangir Khan	Muslim	1910, Basti Ghuzan, Jalandhar, Punjab	1932
Lall Singh	Hindu	1909, Kuala Lumpur, Malaya	1932
Naoomal Jeoomal Makhija	Hindu	1904, Karachi, Sind	1932
Janardan Gyanoba Navle	Hindu	1902, Fulgaon, Maharashtra	1932
Cottari Kanakaiya Nayudu	Hindu	1895, Nagpur, Maharashtra	1932
Syed Nazir Ali	Muslim	1906, Jullundur (now Jalandhar), Punjab	1932
Mohammad Nissar	Muslim	1910, Hoshiarpur, Punjab	1932
Phiroze Edulji Palia	Parsee	1910, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1932
Syed Wazir Ali	Muslim	1903, Jullundur (now Jalandhar), Punjab	1932
Nanik Amarnath Bharadwaj	Hindu	1911, Kapurthala, Punjab	1933
Laxmidas Purshottamdas Jai	Hindu	1902, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1933
Rustomji Jamshedji Dorabji Jamshedji	Parsee	1892, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1933
Vijaysingh Madhavji Merchant	Hindu	1911, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1933
Ramji Ladha Nakum	Hindu	1900, Pidhar, Gujarat	1933
Dilawar Hussain	Muslim	1907, Lahore, Punjab	1933
Morappakam Joysam Gopalan	Hindu	1909, Morappakam	1933
Syed Mushtaq Ali	Muslim	1914, Indore, Madhya Pradesh	1933
Cottari Subbanna Nayudu	Hindu	1914, Nagpur, Maharashtra	1933
Yadavenadrasingh (Yuvraj of Patiala)	Sikh	1913, Patiala, Punjab	1933
Dattaram Dharmaji Hindlekar	Hindu	1909, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1936
Maharajah of Vizianagram	Hindu	1905, Benares (now Varanasi), Uttar Pradesh	1936
Khershed Rustomji Meherhomji	Parsee	1911, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1936
Cotar Ramaswami	Hindu	1896, Madras (now Chennai)	1936
Mohammad Baqa Khan Jilani	Muslim	1911, Jullundur (now Jalandhar), Punjab	1936

Gul Mohammad	Muslim	1921, Lahore, Punjab	1946
Vijay Samuel Hazare	Christian	1915, Sangli, Maharashtra	1946
Abdul Hafeez Kardar	Muslim	1925, Lahore, Punjab	1946
Mulvantrai Himmatlal Mankad	Hindu	1917, Jamnagar, Gujarat	1946
Rusitomji Sheriyar Modi	Parsee	1924, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1946
Iftikhar Ali Khan Pataudi (Nawab of)	Muslim	1910, Pataudi, Punjab	1946
Sadashiv Ganpatrao Shinde	Hindu	1923, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1946
Chandrasekhar Trimbak Sarwate	Hindu	1920, Sagor, Madhya Pradesh	1946
Sriranga Wasudev Sohoni	Hindu	1918, Nimbahera, Rajasthan	1946
Hemchandra Ramachandra Adhikari	Hindu	1919, Poona (now Pune), Maharashtra	1947
Jamshed Khudadad Irani	Parsee	1923, Karachi, Sind	1947
Gogumal Kishenchand Harisinghani	Hindu	1925, Karachi, Sind	1947
Khanderao Moreshwar Rangnekar	Hindu	1917, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1947
Amir Elahi	Muslim	1908, Lahore, Punjab	1947
Dattatraya Gajanan Phadkar	Hindu	1925, Kolhapur, Maharashtra	1947
Kanwar Rai Singh	Sikh	1922, Darkati, Punjab	1947
Probir Kumar Sen	Hindu	1926, Comilla, Bengal	1947
Commandur Rajagopalachari Rangachari	Hindu	1916, Mamandur, Madras	1947
Khanmohammad Cassumbhoy Ibrahim	Muslim	1919, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1948
Keki Khurshedji Tarapore	Hindu	1910, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1948
Pahlan Ratanji Umrigar	Parsee	1926, Sholapur, Maharashtra	1948
Sudangsu Abinash Banerjee	Hindu	1919, Calcutta (now Kolkata), Bengal	1948
Nirode Ranjan Chowdhury	Hindu	1923, Jamshedpur, Bihar	1948
Madhusudan Ramachandra Rege	Hindu	1924, Panvel, Maharashtra	1948
Sarobindu Nath Banerjee	Hindu	1911, Calcutta (now Kolkata), Bengal	1948
Padmanabh Govind Joshi	Hindu	1926, Baroda, Gujarat	1951
Pankaj Roy	Hindu	1928, Calcutta (now Kolkata), Bengal	1951
Coimbatarao Doraikannu Gopinath	Hindu	1930, Madras (now Chennai)	1951
Madhav Krishnaji Mantri	Hindu	1921, Nasik, Maharashtra	1951
Ramesh Vithaldas Divecha	Hindu	1927, Kadakvadi, Maharashtra	1951
Subhashchandra Pandharinath Gupte	Hindu	1929, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1951
Vijay Laxman Manjrekar	Hindu	1931, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1951
Dattajirao Krishnarao Gaekwad	Hindu	1928, Baroda, Gujarat	1952
Gulabrai Sipahimalani Ramchand	Hindu	1927, Karachi, Sind	1952
Hiralal Ghasulal Gaekwad	Hindu	1923, Nagpur, Maharashtra	1952
Shah Nyalchand	Hindu	1919, Dhrangadhra, Gujarat	1952
Madhavrao Laxmanrao Apte	Hindu	1932, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1952
Hemchandra Tukaram Dani	Hindu	1933, Dudhani, Maharashtra	1952
Rajindernath	Hindu	1928, Amritsar, Punjab	1952
Ebrahim Suleman Maka	Muslim	1922, Daman	1952

Roshan Harshadlal Shodhan	Hindu	1928, Ahmedabad, Gujarat	1952
Chandrasekhar Vaman Gadkari	Hindu	1928, Poona (now Pune), Maharashtra	1952
Jaysinghrao Mansinghrao Ghorpade	Hindu	1930, Panchgani, Maharashtra	1952
Pananmal Hotchand Punjabi	Hindu	1921, Karachi, Sind	1954
Narendra Shankar Tamhane	Hindu	1931, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1954
Prakash Bhandari	Hindu	1935, Delhi	1954
Jasubhai Motibhai Patel	Hindu	1924, Ahmedabad, Gujarat	1954
Amritsar Govindsingh Kripal Singh	Sikh	1933, Madras (now Chennai)	1955
Venkatraman Narayan Swamy	Hindu	1933, Calicut (now Kozhikhode), Kerala	1955
Nariman Jamshedji Contractor	Parsee	1934, Godhra, Gujarat	1955
Vijay Laxman Mehra	Hindu	1938, Amritsar, Punjab	1955
Sadashiv Raoji Patil	Hindu	1933, Kolhapur, Maharashtra	1955
Rameshchandra Gangaram Nadkarni	Hindu	1933, Nasik, Maharashtra	1955
Gundibail Rama Sunderam	Hindu	1930, Udupi, Karnataka	1955
Chandrakant Trimbak Patankar	Hindu	1930, Pen, Maharashtra	1955
Chandrakant Gulabrao Borde	Christian	1934, Poona (now Pune), Maharashtra	1958
Ghulam Mustafa Guard	Muslim	1925, Surat, Gujarat	1958
Manohar Shankar Hardikar	Hindu	1936, Baroda, Gujarat	1958
Vasant Baburao Ranjane	Hindu	1937, Poona (now Pune), Maharashtra	1958
Ramnath Baburao Kenny	Hindu	1930, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1958
Surendranath	Hindu	1937, Meerut, Uttar Pradesh	1958
Apoorva Kumar Sengupta	Hindu	1939, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh	1958
Ramakant Bhikaji Desai	Hindu	1939, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1958
Motganhalli Laxmanarsu Jaisimha	Hindu	1939, Secunderabad, Andhra Pradesh	1959
Arvindrao Laxmanrao Apte	Hindu	1934, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1959
Abbas Ali Baig	Muslim	1939, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh	1959
Venatappa Musandra Muddiah	Muslim	1929, Bangalore, Karnataka	1959
Salim Aziz Durani	Muslim	1934, Kabul, Afghanistan	1959
Budhisagar Krishnappa Kunderan	Hindu	1939, Mulki, Karnataka	1959
Amritsar Govindsingh Milkha Singh	Sikh	1941, Madras (now Chennai)	1959
Man Mohan Sood	Muslim	1939, Lahore, Punjab	1959
Rusi Framroze Surti	Parsee	1936, Surat, Gujarat	1960
Balkrishna Pandharinath Gupte	Hindu	1934, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1960
Vaman Viswanath Kumar	Hindu	1935, Madras (now Chennai)	1960
Farokh Maneksha Engineer	Parsee	1938, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1961
Dilip Narayan Sardesai	Hindu	1940, Margao, Goa	1961
Mansur Ali Khan Pataudi (Nawab of)	Muslim	1941, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh	1961
Erapalli Anatharao Srinivas Prasanna	Hindu	1940, Bangalore, Karnataka	1961
Bhagwath Subramanya Chandrasekhar	Hindu	1945, Mysore, Karnataka	1963
Rajinder Pal	Hindu	1937, Delhi	1963

Hanumant Singh	Hindu	1939, Banswara, Rajasthan	1963
Kumar Shri Madhavsinhji Jadeja Indrajitsinhji	Hindu	1937, Jamnagar, Gujarat	1964
Srinivasaraghavan Venkataraghavan	Hindu	1945, Madras (now Chennai)	1964
Venkataraman Subramanya	Hindu	1936, Bangalore, Karnataka	1964
Ajit Laxman Wadekar	Hindu	1941, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1966
Bishan Singh Bedi	Sikh	1946, Amritsar, Punjab	1966
Subrata Guha	Hindu	1946, Calcutta (now Kolkata), Bengal	1967
Ramesh Chand Saxena	Hindu	1944, Delhi	1967
Syed Abid Ali	Muslim	1941, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh	1967
Umesh Narayan Kulkarni	Hindu	1942, Alibagh, Maharashtra	1967
Chetandra Pratap Singh Chauhan	Hindu	1947, Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh	1969
Ashok Vinoo Mankad	Hindu	1946, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1969
Ajit Manohar Pai	Hindu	1945, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1969
Ambar Khirid Roy	Hindu	1945, Calcutta (now Kolkata), Bengal	1969
Ashok Gandotra	Hindu	1948, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	1969
Eknath Dhondu Solkar	Hindu	1948, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1969
Gundappa Rangnath Viswanath	Hindu	1949, Bhadravati, Mysore	1969
Mohinder Amarnath Bhardwaj	Hindu	1950, Patiala, Punjab	1969
Hirji Kenia Jayantilal	Hindu	1948, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh	1970
Pochiah Krishnamurthy	Hindu	1947, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh	1970
Sunil Manohar Gavaskar	Hindu	1949, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1970
Ramnath Dhondu Parkar	Hindu	1946, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1972
Madan Lal Udhouram Sharma	Hindu	1951, Amritsar, Punjab	1974
Brijesh Pursuram Patel	Hindu	1952, Baroda, Gujarat	1974
Sudhir Sakharam Naik	Hindu	1945, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1974
Hemant Shamsunder Kanitkar	Hindu	1942, Amravati, Maharashtra	1974
Parthasarathy Harishchandra Sharma	Hindu	1948, Alwar, Rajasthan	1974
Aunshuman Dattajirao Gaekwad	Hindu	1952, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1974
Karsan Devjibhai Ghavri	Hindu	1951, Rajkot, Gujarat	1974
Surinder Amarnath Bhardwaj	Hindu	1948, Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh	1975
Syed Mujtaba Hussein Kirmani	Muslim	1949, Madras (now Chennai)	1975
Dilip Balwant Vengsarkar	Hindu	1956, Rajapur, Maharashtra	1975
Yajurvindra Singh	Hindu	1952, Rajkot, Gujarat	1976
Kapildev Ramlal Nikhanj	Hindu	1959, Chandigarh	1978
Modireddy Venkat Narasimha Rao	Hindu	1954, Secunderabad, Andhra Pradesh	1978
Dhiraj Devshibhai Parsana	Hindu	1947, Rajkot, Gujarat	1978
Bharath Reddy	Hindu	1954, Madras (now Chennai)	1979
Yashpal Sharma	Hindu	1954, Ludhiana, Punjab	1979
Dilip Rasiklal Doshi	Jain	1947, Rajkot, Gujarat	1979
Nandlal Shivlal Yadav	Hindu	1957, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh	1979

Roger Michael Humphrey Binny	Christian	1955, Bangalore, Karnataka	1979
Sandeep Madhusudan Patil	Hindu	1956, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1979
Kirtivardhan Bhagwat Jha Azad	Hindu	1959, Purnea, Bihar	1980
Ravishankar Jayadritha Shastri	Hindu	1962, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1980
Yograjsingh Bhagsingh Bhundel	Hindu	1958, Chandigarh	1980
Tirumalai Echambadi Srinivasan	Hindu	1950, Madras (now Chennai)	1980
Krishnamachari Srikkanth	Hindu	1959, Madras (now Chennai)	1981
Ashok Omprakash Malhotra	Hindu	1957, Amritsar, Punjab	1981
Pranab Roy	Hindu	1957, Calcutta (now Kolkata), Bengal	1981
Ghulam Ahmed Hasan Mohammed Parkar	Muslim	1955, Kaluste, Maharashtra	1982
Surendra Vithal Nayak	Hindu	1954, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1982
Jagdishlal Arun Lal	Hindu	1955, Moradabad, Uttar Pradesh	1982
Rakesh Chandra Shukla	Hindu	1948, Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh	1982
Maninder Singh	Sikh	1965, Poona (now Pune), Maharashtra	1982
Balwinder Singh Sandhu	Sikh	1956, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1982
Thirumalai Ananthanpillai Sekhar	Hindu	1956, Madras (now Chennai)	1982
Laxman Sivaramakrishnan	Hindu	1965, Madras (now Chennai)	1982
Adwai Raghuram Bhat	Hindu	1958, Puttur, Mysore	1983
Navjot Singh Sidhu	Sikh	1963, Patiala, Punjab	1983
Chetan Sharma	Hindu	1966, Ludhiana, Punjab	1984
Manoj Prabhakar	Hindu	1963, Ghaziabad, Uttar Pradesh	1984
Mohammad Azharuddin	Muslim	1963, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh	1984
Gopal Sharma	Hindu	1960, Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh	1984
Lalchand Sitaram Rajput	Hindu	1961, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1985
Sadanand Viswanath	Hindu	1962, Bangalore, Karnataka	1985
Kiran Shankar More	Hindu	1962, Baroda, Gujarat	1986
Chandrakant Sitaram Pandit	Hindu	1961, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1986
Rajiv Ramesh Kulkarni	Hindu	1962, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1986
Bharathi Arun	Hindu	1962, Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh	1986
Raman Lamba	Hindu	1960, Meerut, Uttar Pradesh	1986
Arshad Ayub	Muslim	1958, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh	1987
Sanjay Vijay Manjrekar	Hindu	1965, Mangalore, Mysore	1987
Narendra Deepchand Hirwani	Hindu	1968, Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh	1987
Woorkeri Venkat Raman	Hindu	1965, Madras (now Chennai)	1987
Ajay Kumar Sharma	Hindu	1964, Delhi	1987
Rashid Ghulam Mohammed Patel	Muslim	1964, Sabarkantha, Gujarat	1988
Sanjeev Kumar Sharma	Hindu	1965, Delhi	1988
Margashayam Venkataramana	Hindu	1966, Secunderabad, Andhra Pradesh	1988
Salil Ashok Ankola	Hindu	1968, Sholapur, Maharashtra	1989
Sachin Ramesh Tendulkar	Hindu	1973, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1989

Vivek Razdan	Hindu	1969, Delhi	1989
Sagi Lakshmi Venkatapathy Raju	Hindu	1969, Alamuru, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh	1989
Atul Satish Wassan	Muslim	1968, Delhi	1989
Gursharan Singh	Sikh	1963, Amritsar, Punjab	1989
Anil Kumble	Hindu	1970, Bangalore, Karnataka	1990
Javagal Srinath	Hindu	1969, Mysore, Karnataka	1991
Subroto Tara Banerjee	Hindu	1969, Patna, Bihar	1991
Pravin Kalyan Amre	Hindu	1968, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1992
Ajaysinhji Daulatsinhji Jadeja	Hindu	1971, Jamnagar, Gujarat	1992
Rajesh Kumar Chauhan	Hindu	1966, Ranchi, Bihar	1992
Vinod Ganpat Kambli	Hindu	1972, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1992
Vijay Yadav	Hindu	1967, Gonda, Uttar Pradesh	1992
Nayan Ramlal Mongia	Hindu	1969, Baroda, Gujarat	1993
Aashish Rakesh Kapoor	Hindu	1971, Madras (now Chennai), Tamil Nadu	1994
Sunil Bandacharya Joshi	Hindu	1970, Gadag, Karnataka	1996
Paras Laxmikant Mhambrey	Hindu	1972, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1996
Bapu Krishnarao Venkatesh Prasad	Hindu	1969, Bangalore, Karnataka	1996
Vikram Rathour	Hindu	1969, Jullundur (now Jalandhar), Punjab	1996
Rahul Sharad Dravid	Hindu	1973, Indore, Madhya Pradesh	1996
Sourav Chandidas Ganguly	Hindu	1972, Calcutta (now Kolkata), Bengal	1996
David Jude Johnson	Christian	1971, Arasikere, Karnataka	1996
Vangipurappu Venkata Sai Laxman	Hindu	1974, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh	1996
Doddanarasiah Ganesh	Hindu	1973, Bangalore, Karnataka	1996
Abey Kuruvilla	Hindu	1968, Mannar, Allepey (now Alappuzha), Kerala	1996
Nilesh Moreshwar Kulkarni	Hindu	1973, Dombivli, Maharashtra	1997
Debasis Sarbeswar Mohanty	Hindu	1976, Bhubaneswar, Orissa	1997
Harvinder Singh	Sikh	1977, Amritsar, Punjab	1997
Harbhajan Singh	Sikh	1980, Jullundur (now Jalandhar), Punjab	1997
Ajit Bhalchandra Agarkar	Hindu	1977, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1998
Rabindra Ramanarayan Singh	Hindu	1963, Princes Town, Trinidad	1998
Robin Singh	Hindu	1970, Delhi	1998
Sadagoppan Ramesh	Hindu	1975, Madras (now Chennai), Tamil Nadu	1998
Ashish Nehra	Hindu	1979, Delhi	1998
Devang Jayant Gandhi	Hindu	1971, Bhavnagar, Gujarat	1999
Mannava Sri Kanth Prasad	Hindu	1975, Guntur, Andhra Pradesh	1999
Raghvendrarao Vijay Bharadwaj	Hindu	1975, Bangalore, Karnataka	1999
Hrishikesh Hemant Kanitkar	Hindu	1974, Pune, Maharashtra	1999
Wasim Jaffer	Muslim	1978, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	1999
Murali Kartik	Hindu	1976, Madras (now Chennai), Tamil	1999
Nikhil Chopra	Hindu	1973, Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh	1999

Mohammad Kaif	Muslim	1980, Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh	1999
Shiv Sunder Das	Hindu	1977, Bhubaneswar, Orissa	2000
Syed Saba Karim	Muslim	1967, Patna, Bihar	2000
Zaheer Khan	Muslim	1978, Shrirampur, Maharashtra	2000
Vijay Dahiya	Hindu	1973, Delhi	2000
Sarandeep Singh	Sikh	1979, Amritsar, Punjab	2000
Rahul Laxman Sanghvi	Hindu	1974, Surat, Gujarat	2000
Sairaj Vasant Bahutule	Hindu	1973, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	2000
Sameer Sudhakar Dighe	Hindu	1968, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	2000
Hemang Kamal Badani	Hindu	1976, Madras (now Chennai), Tamil	2001
Deep Biplab Dasgupta	Hindu	1977, Calcutta (now Kolkata), Bengal	2001
Virender Sehwag	Hindu	1978, Delhi	2001
Sanjay Bapusaheb Bangar	Hindu	1972, Bid, Maharashtra	2001
Iqbal Rashid Siddiqui	Muslim	1974, Aurangabad, Maharashtra	2001
Tinu Yohannan	Hindu	1979, Quilon (now Kollam), Kerala	2001
Ajay Ratra	Hindu	1981, Faridabad, Haryana	2001
Parthiv Ajay Patel	Hindu	1985, Ahmedabad, Gujarat	2002
Lakshmipathy Balaji	Hindu	1981, Madras (now Chennai), Tamil Nadu	2003
Aakash Chopra	Hindu	1977, Agra, Uttar Pradesh	2003
Yuvraj Singh	Hindu	1981, Chandigarh	2003
Irfan Khan Pathan	Muslim	1984, Baroda, Gujarat	2003
Gautam Gambhir	Hindu	1981, Delhi	2004
Krishnakumar Dinesh Karthik	Hindu	1985, Madras (now Chennai), Tamil Nadu	2004
Mahendra Singh Dhoni	Hindu	1981, Ranchi, Bihar	2005
Rudra Pratap Singh	Hindu	1985, Rae Bareli, Uttar Pradesh	2005
Shanthakumaran Sreesanth	Hindu	1983, Kothamangalam, Kerala	2005
Piyush Pramod Chawla	Hindu	1988, Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh	2005
Munaf Musa Patel	Muslim	1983, Ikhar, Gujarat	2005
Vikram Raj Vir Singh	Sikh	1984, Chandigarh, Punjab, India	2006
Ramesh Rajaram Powar	Hindu	1978, Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra	2007
Ishant Sharma	Hindu	1988, Delhi	2007
Amit Mishra	Hindu	1982, Delhi	2008
Murali Vijay	Hindu	1984, Chennai	2008

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